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WEEKLY PEOPLE

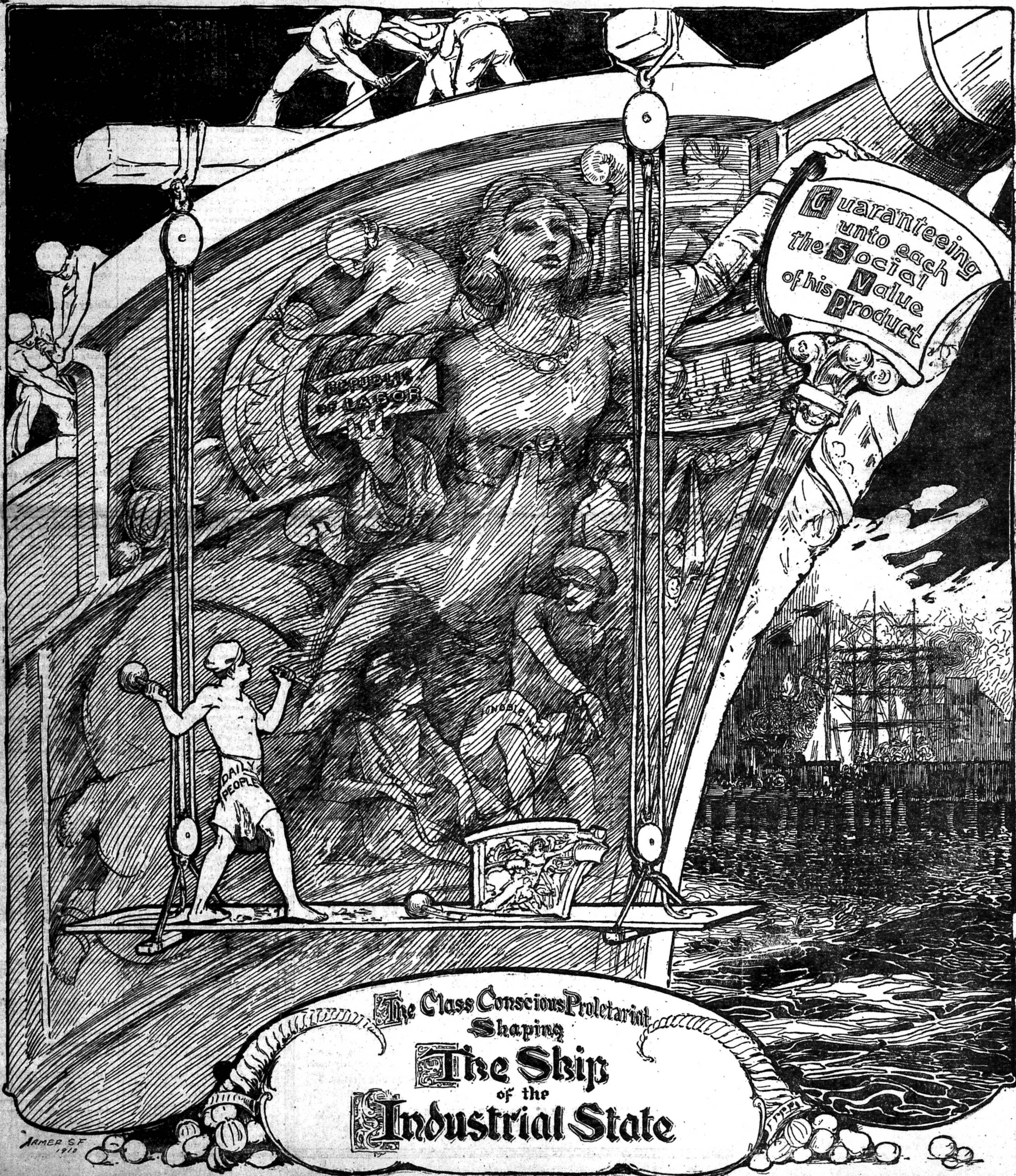


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DAILY PEOPLE PICNIC

ENTHUSIASTIC CELEBRATION AT MIDLAND PARK.

S. L. P. Men and Women Gather in Inspiring Celebration of the Party's English Organ—Big Banquet, 300 Partaking, Held—Speakers and Diners See New Period Ahead for the Party, and Cheer the Glorious Work Accomplished in the Past Decade.

Inspiring and thrilling was the Daily People's Tenth Anniversary celebration held July 3 at Midland Park, in Grant City, Staten Island. It was an occasion such as is seldom given to the noble men and women who have all these years battled for a revolutionary principle in the face of the fiercest odds that a working class organization has had to encounter. And as these true blue revolutionists have known how to hide their time withstanding the onslaughts upon their citadel, so did they know Sunday how to rejoice in a glorious observance of a ten years' close of deeds for working class emancipation well done.

From far and near did the celebrants come. Boston, Philadelphia, Bridgeport, New Haven, Cleveland, and California had their representatives, not to mention the comrades from Greater New York and surroundings.

The afternoon was spent by the picnickers in the most delightful fashion; various games attracted and amused the participants and the onlookers, among the sports being a scientific baseball game, sprints and contests for the ladies. To detail the pleasure of these features would keep one describing all day, and no doubt these will be recounted for some time to come.

The big event of the occasion, however, was the banquet in the evening, or rather, the speechmaking following the feast. It was here that the highest enthusiasm prevailed, and why shouldn't it? The remarks of those called upon for toasts raised the spirits of the diners to top notch. Three hundred were seated at the banquet board, and they cheered the S. L. P. sentiments to the echo.

The array of speakers was a notable one. Mrs. O. M. Johnson, B. Reinstein, E. J. Higgins, Arthur E. Reimer, Joseph Sweeney, Jos Schlossberg, Daniel DeLeon, L. Baaky, P. Augustine, and Tet-suka, contributing to the joyousness of the occasion, led on by the wit and humor of toast-master James T. Hunter. All were agreed that a new era was setting in for the Socialist Labor party, while its opponents felt the ground opening under them. And truly international was the array of those who responded to the toastmaster's call. Our Japanese comrade Tetsuka paid a neat rebuke to those declaimers of "backward races," and his points went home. And the others in their turn spoke equally well on the various toasts. Several hours did this feasting and speaking last, and the effect on all those partaking was the best stimulant ever received by an S. L. P. gathering for renewed work for the grand old, or rather the grand always young principles of the only Socialist organization in America.

Earlier in the day dancing was started in the spacious pavilion to the sweet strains of Zaveloff's musicians, and this continued throughout the evening, though the orchestra did not have much to do during the interval of the banquet.

The anniversary edition of the Daily People came in for a round of special comment, all voting it a "hummer." Special souvenirs for this event were also in demand, as all were desirous of carrying away mementoes of the glorious gathering.

MINE LEADERS BLOCK STRIKE.

Pittsburg, July 1.—A coal miners' strike in the Pittsburg district has been forestalled by the leaders. A meeting of the executive board of the district officers of the mine workers' organization has been called for late to-day, when, it is expected, a ratification of the agreement which has been reached between the sub-committees of the operators and miners will be carried out.

The threat of the miners to strike was not sanctioned by the national officers of the union, who directed the district officers to make certain concessions, which they did, thus allowing the tentative signing of a two-year wage scale effective at once.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party. It prints nothing but sound Socialist literature.

FLY-PAPER SOCIALISTS.

S. P. in State Convention at Schenectady, N. Y.

Schenectady, N. Y., June 26.—The state convention of the Socialist party held here to-day gave another lamentable exhibition of the depths to which "possibilism," "something now" and a general vague idea that "you must be careful," can plunge a so-called Socialist body into. The work of the convention was such as to make one laugh were it not shadowed by that awful background, the misery of the working class, and the crying need for clear and honest presentation of facts, backed up by clear and honest action.

When the platform as adopted by this convention comes out in print, it may be "a thing of beauty and a joy forever" to S. P. men, but for Socialists, and the work of Socialists,—what a mess and muddle. A "Workmen's Compensation Act" of which M. Hillquit said, "This is the thing in Organized Labor circles and while it was not Socialism, still, workingmen's compensation would be much in evidence in the coming campaign," was declared for.

Then the old-time rot of trying to legislate a "gradual shortening of the work day," prohibition of child labor, prohibition of action of police and militia in times of labor struggles—on all these and others of similar import resolutions were hashed and reshaped, till one of the delegates, getting out of patience, exclaimed: "I wish I were a lawyer, I would then know what all this meant." And well he might as indeed might any one who thinks of the tons and tons of printed matter in the shape of "Labor Laws" that are simply baubles to divert and keep quiet the working class.

The whole convention was a greater bid for the A. F. of L. vote, a greater straining to become more of a hissing and a by-word among the workers of America. The substance of the talk on the above-mentioned resolutions was: "Organized Labor has been discriminated against when on strike," "labor organizations have this matter under consideration," "union funds shall be exempt from seizure for damages to business or anything else."

Great stress was laid on the fact that, owing to the large vote cast last election in Schenectady and other nearby places, the State Committee of the S. P. should give special attention to the propaganda in these places. Evidently the "omnibus demands," are for the purpose of capturing the votes of the pure and simple in these places.

Resolutions on the "Free Speech Fight" at Spokane, New Castle, etc., were handed out with a dash of condemnation for the action of the U. S. and Mexican governments in connection with the Russian Revolutionists, and a little resolution condemning the treatment of the Russians that were lured with slavery in Hawaii; this latter most likely in order to smooth the way for "our Moritz" when he appears on the East Side again. All this and nothing more was the work that these "Socialists" evolved in one and a half days: words, words, beating the air, getting angry, and wasting time in a hot stuffy hall, and to no earthly purpose.

Speed the day when such conventions will be no more; when the working class, both in and outside the class organization; will be so well posted and alive to the needs of their class that no body will dare to take liberties with their intelligence. H. G.

LIABEUR EXECUTED.

Paris, July 1.—Liabeuf, the Paris workman who killed a policeman several months ago because of the exasperating hounding which the police subjected him to, was guillotined here at daybreak yesterday. The Socialists had attempted to get a reprieve for the condemned man, but this failed, and a manifestation took place at the scene of the execution. The police charged them repeatedly with bayonets.

For weeks the question of whether or not the death sentence passed on Liabeuf for the killing of this policeman should be carried out had been a burning topic in Paris. Socialists and others asked for commutation of the sentence, on the ground that Liabeuf had originally been a victim of false police evidence, and that his deed had been provoked by outrageous persecution. The prefect of police, M. Lepine, threatened to resign if clemency was shown to Liabeuf. President Fallieres finally decided against extension.

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UNDER AUSTRALIAN SKIES

SO-CALLED LABOR PARTY CAPTURES SEATS AND SALARIES.

For the Rest, Is Satisfied to See Workers Jog Along in Wage Slavery—"Public" Press, at First Alarmed, Now Feels Quite Safe—Socialist Labor Party Only Clear-Headed Organization.

Burwood, N. S. W., May 9.—The Federal elections which took place on April 13th, saw the Australian Parliament metamorphosed. The raising of the curtain shows new "stars," strutting on the political stage, the majority of the swashbucklers being of the "Labor" principles," as for the first time in Australia's history, the Federal "Labor" party has been elected to office. 'Tis the third time a so-called Labor Government has been in office, but on the two previous occasions it was only there as a stop-gap owing to the fact that there were two parties of the Liberal persuasion divided by Free Trade and Protection. These latter parties, however, managed to patch up their little differences after the second Labor Government prorogued Parliament in 1908. When Parliament reassembled in 1909, the two parties, now united and known as the Fusion party, had a sufficient majority and gave the Labor Government its quietus, and ejected them from office and salaries. The bourgeois press hailed the fact with acclamation, as the political arena was then limited to two parties, the Labor party was deprived of its weapon, "support for concessions."

A word as to the election system for Federal Parliament will be in order. The House of Representatives is elected for the Parliamentary term, 3 years. The Senate is composed of 6 Senators for each of the 6 states, and half retire every 3 years. Each candidate, for Senator or Representative, when nominated must deposit \$125, which is forfeited, if the candidate does not poll 20 per cent. of the vote of the lowest successful candidate.

Under the electoral law, parties are non-existent, and candidates' names are on the ballot paper in alphabetical order. Every adult man or woman has the right to vote, and every conceivable convenience is used to give all the opportunity, as absence from place of registration can be overcome by voting by post. In the recent elections was cast the biggest vote that has yet been polled in Australia. In the House of Representatives the Labor party gained 17 seats, giving it 44 members. The Fusion party has now 31 members, so the Labor party has a good working majority in the Reps.

The "Labor" party elected the 3 Senators from each state, 18 in all, and as there are Labor Senators who have still 3 years to run, the Labor party has a majority in both lower and upper houses sufficient to place any law that they desire upon the statute books.

Owing to the smallness of the Socialist Labor Party, the large area of the country, and the deposits required for the three candidates—3 must be voted for, or the ballot paper is rejected as informal—the S. L. P. put up the full ticket in only one state, New South Wales, and for the third time lost its deposits. The vote was as follows:

R. Mackenzie, 13,468; J. O. Moroney, 10,154; T. Hoare, 8,544.

This vote was lower than the last vote which was roughly: J. O. Moroney, 15,000; T. Batha, 14,000; J. K. Wilcox, 12,000.

During the campaign the S. L. P. was met with this cry when they criticised the Labor party's platform: "Give the

Labor party a chance, and see what they will do."

They have now got their chance, and having such a majority, there is no excuse. But the S. L. P. recognizes the fact that all the Labor party can do is administer the capitalist state for the capitalist class. "Labor" is in office, but the capitalists are in power. The capitalist class still control industry.

During the campaign the press referred to the Labor party as the "Labor Socialists," and issued fearful forebodings as to the result of that party being elected. Now they are all agreed that the Labor party is "safe, sane and conservative," expressing the opinion that "the extremists will be held in hand by the older members, some of whom are very wealthy men."

The Labor Prime Minister, Andrew Fisher, in an interview a few days before election, gave out this outline in case of his party's victory:

1. A fair living wage, to be fixed by law.
 2. Eight-hour day.
 3. Australia for the white, race exclusively.
 4. Abolition of industrial, commercial and land monopolies.
 5. Compulsory military training.
- "That isn't Socialism, you know—the creation of a large number of small landed proprietors," said the reporter. "That is my kind of Socialism," said Fisher.

In the manifesto of the Labor party, signed by Fisher, the stand is taken for "a fair and reasonable wage," and Fisher's definition of that phrase was given in a meeting in Martin Place, Sydney, thus:

"I accept the decision of Judge Higgins in the Broken Hill miners' strike, that 'A fair and reasonable wage is the sum necessary to keep a workingman, his wife and the average family, in frugal comfort.'"

I have no doubt on the result of the Australian elections being cabled to America. The Milwaukee S. P. Herald would boast of the Socialist victory in Australia. They are Socialists of the "Milwaukee Idea." Marx is a back number with each; these are "practical" Socialists. If the Milwaukee S. D. P. is a Socialist party, so is the Australian Labor party. See the fanatics swing their arms and cry, "Down with the pauper hordes of Europe, and the yellow men, and preserve the purity of the Anglo-Saxon race, so help me God!"

The press has been inundated with letters asking "How did it happen?" and it is humorous to read the "hows." In the Sydney "Catholic Press" of April 20th a leader appeared, from which the following are extracts:

"The slashing victory won by the Labor Party at the Federal polls was not less welcome because it was so sensationally unexpected, and we can congratulate ourselves that catholic democracy had so marked an influence on the fortunes of the day. It is candidly admitted by the daily papers that the almost revolutionary result could never have been achieved had not Labor been reinforced by a great party for the first time united on a political policy,—a party that must always hold the balance of power whenever special circumstances force it to present a solid front to a common enemy."

"The 'Catholic Press' may claim some credit for awakening catholics to a sense of their political strength, and for the splendid vote they cast."

"They know now—and the whole community knows too,—that no party which alienates their sympathy and support can expect a long existence. Apart altogether from the patriotic program of the Labor party, the unsectarian character of its organization brought the catholic vote to its standard. It has always been wholesome and clean and free from religious intolerance. And with the Fus-

ionists, or so-called 'Liberals' allying themselves with Orangeism, and using its wretched weapons, catholics had no alternative but to vote the way they did. But it is absurd to suppose that they will necessarily follow Labor wheresoever it wishes to lead. Asking nothing but fair play, having no wish to organize a block vote, unless their citizen rights are violated or their faith insulted, catholic electors are divided on political questions. Labor has won on the catholic vote and Labor may continue to hold it, but Labor will have to earn it by a lofty regard for the rights of every section of our citizens, and a careful avoidance of such shameful tactics as made 'Liberalism' and bigotry synonymous terms."

The Labor party is accused of being elected by the Catholic vote, saloonkeepers, and gambling fraternity, but so far the only proof has been to prove the catholic vote. The sisters from the convents are said to have voted, a thing that they never did before. Cardinal Moran had a newspaper controversy with the State Minister for Education, the state government having refused a grant to catholic schools, and it is supposed that the block vote has been organized to force concessions from the Liberal party, as the state election in N. S. W. takes place in September. It is not expected, however, that the Labor party will grant moneys to the catholic schools.

The S. L. P. knows "how did it happen?" It happened because the Labor party used all the political fly-paper in the known world. They got the vote of the wage workers because of the name of "Labor." They got the vote of the military because the Labor Defence Scheme was the "best." They got the farmers' vote because they will break up big estates, and that will give the farmers' sons the chance to become small property owners. They got the vote of the whole 57 varieties. Fisher speaking in Melbourne on April 28th said:

"I feel confident that by legislation and administration the Labor party would do something to enable the people of this country to get an opportunity to settle on the lands, and as regards manufacture, they would be able to assure those people who had capital invested in manufacturing interests, of even greater opportunities than they had at the present time. They desired by this industrial legislation to protect the toilers, so as to carry out the spirit and intention of Mr. Justice Higgins' famous judgment. A living wage is the sum necessary to keep a workingman, his wife and family in frugal comfort."

Such is the Labor party. A party of reaction, split up combines of all kinds, and return to systems of small production and keep the working class forever in the bonds of wage slavery.

However, the hopes of the Australian working class run high. They have now secured their ambition, a Labor Government, with an absolute majority. With that they can place all their planks on the statute book, except those which will get a "swat" as unconstitutional. The Laborites are in ecstasy. They are expecting something, and they will get it. They will hear it drop. They imagine the capitalist system is all right and the only thing wrong is the party that administers the laws. There is a rude awakening in store, because the capitalist class still own and control the industries.

The S. L. P. is burnishing up its armor for there is work to do. The workers will have it driven into them that they have got a Labor Government, and unemployment and starvation still stares them in the face. Such conditions were never before so favorable for propaganda. We shall make the most of them. Speed the day of their enlightenment.

R. Mackenzie.

PASSING SHOW IN 'FRISCO

A. F. OF L. GRAFT UNIONS MERRILY BREAK EACH OTHERS' STRIKES.

Another Set Tries to Fight the Employer in the Courts Owned by the Employer—The Efficacy of True Industrialism Shown When Given a Trial—S. P. Joins Labor Fakirs in Denouncing Stoppage of Bruising Contest.

San Francisco, June 23.—The Plumbers' and Gas Fitters' Helpers' Union have filed a petition with the Supreme Court for a restraining order to be issued against the Journeymen and Master Plumbers. They charge that the Journeymen Plumbers of Local 442 and the Master Plumbers met in a secret meeting and organized themselves for the purpose of preventing Plumbers' Helpers and Assistants from getting positions in the city.

It was proposed to tie up the entire plumbing business in the hands of the Master Plumbers' Association, it is charged, and all employment as journeymen plumbers to go to Local 442. The journeymen's schedule only allows one helper in attendance upon every four journeymen, and they have enforced this by a series of fines; as a result the majority of these helpers have lost their positions.

Another instance of how the employers have taken advantage of warring unions of the same craft is brought to light by the action of the San Francisco Calkers' Union. Some months ago, in Eureka, the Shipwrights' and Calkers' Union, the regular organization, went out on strike for an eight-hour day. They claim they had the Hammond Co. completely tied up and would have gained the day had the former union not sent a gang of strike breakers. The end is not yet, because the aggrieved union announces that it is going to adopt similar tactics and put the other union out of business.

On the other hand we have an example of the good results when the principles of the bona-fide I. W. W. are adopted. By these means the long fight of the Bath House Employees' Union against the Suto Baths has been won. The management met the officers of the Labor Council last Saturday week and signed an agreement, completely capitulating. This action was precipitated by the action of the council in calling out carpenters, painters, electricians and other union men employed in the baths.

One of the interesting phases of the recent action of Gov. Gillet in stopping the Jeffries-Johnson fight is the resolution adopted by the S. P. It reads thusly:

"Whereas, Gov. Gillet has brought the State troops without due cause or provocation to San Francisco over the heads of the municipal authorities, and

"Whereas, Such action on part of an official in his capacity has set a precedent in arrogating power to himself which could be used in case of labor disputes, and

"Whereas, We, the members of Local San Francisco Socialist Party, view such action as fraught with danger to the working class, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, the members of the Socialist Party of San Francisco in regular meeting assembled most emphatically condemn such unwarranted, unprecedented and tyrannical action of said governor."

These are the facts of the case: the State laws prohibit prize fighting and hitherto the municipal authorities have been relied upon to see that the State laws are obeyed. Needless to say, they have winked their eyes at some of the rawest fakes in the history of the fighting game. The Governor's action was no doubt precipitated by the action of the Panama-Pacific Exposition Committee, who, alarmed at the notoriety of the affair and fearing that St. Louis might use it to further her claims for congressional help, urged him to take this step. The fight promoters were conspicuous figures in the election of McCarthy, and it is generally conceded that they were to receive "protection" for their interests. Gov. Gillet notified the city administration of his intention to enforce the law. As the local authorities evinced no desire to do this the sending of the troops was the result. The unions, under the direction of the labor fakirs, are loud in their denunciation of the Governor, and have also struck a sympathetic chord as evidenced in the resolution of the S. P. Their candidate for Governor, J. Stitt Wilson, in a speech yesterday, outlines the party's program. He would have all of the

large landed estates in California broken up by a heavy land tax, such as the British budget proposes. Small property holders would have their taxes greatly diminished.

In addition to land legislation, Wilson advocates a State insurance department, with compulsory low rate insurance against fire. He wants a State insurance against industrial accidents and death, a State free employment bureau, and a State law department, which shall furnish legal advice freely to every citizen, instead of compelling him to hire an attorney to interpret the law.

All these measures, the speaker declared, are in force in other parts of the world at present. The land and credit plan is in effect in New Zealand.

F. W. S.

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THE DAILY PEOPLE

A SKETCH OF HOW IT CAME TO BE, HOW IT STRUGGLED TO AVOID HAVING BEEN, AND HOW IT HELD THE FIELD.

By Henry Kuhn.

It is wonderful how time not only softens but often entirely changes the aspect of things. Time was when the opinion was quite prevalent in the Socialist Labor Party that the existence of the Daily People imposed upon the Party a grievous burden, a burden not without its compensating advantages it is true, but for all that a burden that retarded growth, lamed action, absorbed the movement's energy and became, for these reasons, the cause of numerous disturbances that might have been avoided for the Party's good. Yet at this day, after the Daily People has rounded out the first decade of its life, how utterly different an aspect is now presented! To-day, it is clear to all of us that the Daily People, far from being an absorber of strength, is a giver of power, is productive of that which makes the Socialist Labor Party movement of the United States what it is, the rallying point of revolutionary thought and action, the beacon that shines forth over a sea of compromising, issue-dodging, time-serving leanings which, in the main, go to make up what passes current as the Socialist Movement in this country. The Daily People and the intrepid organization that stands behind it is even the secret hope of such as, because of inherent timidity that makes them shrink from facing a pitiless storm, or from the compelling force of an environment that fetters their action, or from a dozen other motives, are to be found not with the pioneer blazing the way, but with the crowd that comes trailing behind. But they have sense and insight enough to know that it is the few pioneers, and not the trailing crowd, that will arrive first at the goal and, for obvious reasons, they wish them well.

As befits a paper of the character and mission of the Daily People, the date of its birth fell in a period of storm and stress. The burning question of Trade Unionism, having had chief attention at the national convention of the S. L. P. of 1896, resulting in the endorsement by the Party of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, had drawn the lines of demarcation hard and fast between the real and the make-believe revolutionist, and, finally, after a protracted internal struggle, led in 1899 to the bolt of the Kangaroo under the leadership of the New Yorker Volkszeitung, with an army of adherents made up in part of craft unionist reactionists who, for shame's sake and to be in the swim, had covered themselves with a thin veneer of Socialist hue, and in part again of a rabble of middle class misfits and professional gentlemen bent upon shaping a revolutionary working class movement according to their more or less parasitic interests.

Following the national convention of 1896, there had been a rapid development of the S. L. P. The membership grew, and its organization was pushed into ever new fields. The vote too went up, all of which created at the time a keen desire for a daily paper in the English language. In 1891, the "Workman's Advocate," a weekly and the official organ of the S. L. P., had been merged with a new paper, The People, and the latter, under competent editorial management, had in the intervening years acquired

added standing and circulation. The desire for and the need of a daily English paper began to manifest itself in the latter years of the past century in many ways and led finally to the creation of a fund made up of voluntary contributions from all over the country. The ways of Providence are said to be inscrutable. At any rate, that evidently far-sighted institution did in those days prevail upon many latent and incipient Kangaroos to contribute their mite towards the establishment of the Daily People Fund, and thus they helped to make possible the launching of a paper which, in their present perversity and blindness, they have since regarded as a thorn in their flesh, but which, as can today be plainly perceived by those who have eyes to see, will yet prove for them an anchor to pull them out of the mire of compromise and corruption and the sea of despair that now only threatens, but will soon actually engulf them.

It was the intention in those days not to launch the daily until a fund of \$50,000 had been gathered. But the Kangaroo revolt and bolt created a situation so full of the spirit of battle that caution was swept aside and the Daily People was launched on July 1, 1900, a few weeks after the adjournment of the Party's national convention of that year. Soon thereafter we had difficulties and some to spare. First, we had to make our experience in the running of a daily paper and we had to pay for it. Secondly, since no one could tell beforehand how ripe the field might or might not be for such a paper and what would be the reception it would meet with, the scope we started on was in keeping with our expectations rather than with the, as yet, hidden facts. The paper had from 6 to 8 pages daily and from 12 to 16 pages Sundays. The form of administration too, decided upon largely under the influence of the litigation the Kangaroo bolters had involved the Party in, was not what it should have been. It was that of a Board of Trustees of three, composed of Hugo Vogt, Peter Fibiger and Joseph H. Sauter, none of whom, by the way, feel to-day like joining us in celebrating the Tenth Anniversary of the Daily People. They are worshipping at other shrines.

When the elections of 1900 were over, these questions had to be faced: Either to discontinue publication, or to so retrench as to make possible further existence. It was decided to retrench. The strain was most severe, not only because of disappointed expectations as to circulation and advertising income, but chiefly because the paper's plant, valued at that time at about \$25,000, because of the premature starting of the paper, had to be purchased on credit with an arrangement for monthly payments to discharge the obligation which was secured by chattel mortgage. These payments, footing up to an average of \$500 per month, under the stress of that situation could not always be met except by postponements. Thus a rather small phalanx of staunch friends had to hold the fort, and the Daily People, surrounded by a host of foes, had to fight its way with the storm blowing in from all sides.

Struggling on in this way and maintained only by the heavy financial sacrifices made by the Party's membership the country over, we came to the year 1902 when, as a sort of aftermath to the Kangaroo episode, there arose a conspiracy within the Party, the at first secret object of which was to kill off the Daily People. This disturbance had not the characteristics of the Kangaroo affair; not on the broad lines of Party policy and tactics was the fight conducted, but a curious conglomeration of sore heads, misfits and general nondescripts began to assail the Party. It became known as the Kangleit conspiracy.

The Board of Trustees, in its leading majority, finally allied itself with at least part of these elements, and that fact forced a change in the form of administration of the paper sooner than would otherwise have come about. For a long time it had been apparent that this form of administration did not fit in with the constitutional structure of the Party organization, for it created a situation where the Party's National Executive Committee, though it had to bear the burden of responsibility and was looked to by the membership to furnish information as to what was being done and how it was done, was nevertheless shorn of all authority and, therefore, unable to rectify abuses of management that were known to exist. This state of affairs was ended by a general vote whereby the Party abolished the Board of Trustees and placed the management

of the Daily People in the hands of its N. E. C.

But the Party had still to deal with the machinations of the Kangleit conspiracy, and in a way somewhat unexpected. A certain Julian Pierce, then manager of the Labor News Co., then Party's book publishing institution, offered himself as manager of the Daily People when the N. E. C. had taken charge and was considering the appointment of such a functionary. He did so by means of a document in which he set forth, elaborately and with much detail, how he would conduct affairs and how much more economically they could be managed than had been done before. He was appointed and it soon appeared what were his real designs, for he lost no time to prepare a situation calculated to stampede the N. E. C. into an abandonment of the Daily People. The plan failed. It failed because the N. E. C. refused to allow itself to be stampeded. Instead it simply removed Mr. Pierce and went on with the work of building up the paper. Then came the last gasp of conspiracy. It came in a flood of lampoons containing the wildest statements of "fact" and making clear as day the real purpose of the lampoonists, namely, that of wanting to destroy the Daily People, a purpose they had thus far denied and veiled with all sorts of specious pretenses. In the light of all that had happened since, the present-day perusal of these lampoons, particularly that of Pierce himself, as well as that of an alleged "Rhode Island Committee" under the leadership of a Providence, R. I., lawyer by name of Thomas Curran, is exceedingly funny reading, all the more so when one sees how seriously these men seemed to take themselves in their self-ordained role of "saviors of the Party."

From that time on, after these disturbances had died down, the business affairs of the paper were conducted according to a well-defined policy which, in brief, consisted of this:

1.—To strain every possible resource of the Party to get rid of the mortgaged indebtedness still resting on the Daily People plant.

2.—To add to that plant in such a manner as to give it an earning capacity, i. e., to take up certain lines of job printing that would yield enough to enable the Party to maintain the daily and withstand a long siege.

To these two tasks all else had to be subordinated for the time being. The first was made easier in course of time by a refunding of the debt, thus cutting the monthly payments down to \$100, and it was finally accomplished in 1906, when, made possible by the unstinted support of the Party membership, the last note was paid and the plant freed from mortgage. The second task, too, was accomplished in time, so that to-day our press occupies a position of comparative safety, no longer in danger day after day. But the struggle to get there was indeed a trying one, made the more arduous by a shower of law suits instigated by a number of the Kangleit conspirators and engineered by the erstwhile secretary of the quondam Board of Trustees, Mr. Hugo Vogt, since become a lawyer. Often it seemed as though the candle would go out in our hands; often difficulties, apparently insurmountable, blocked the road; often those who could not stand the pace fell by the wayside and, in obedience to some curious psychological law, became bitter enemies and sought to destroy that for which they had before striven. Yet in the darkest hour some ray of light appeared; in the tightest place some way out was found or suggested by some one or other, and, as a result of all these struggles, trials and tribulations, the Socialist Labor Party, in this year, of the Lord, 1910, is enabled to celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of ITS Daily People. Long may it live!

The Daily People is indeed the child of the S. L. P., brought forth in labor and pain and nursed with its substance as a child is nursed by its mother, shielded from harm and guided in its first steps. And now that the youngster has got over the measles, the whooping cough, etc., etc., and has grown to the more or less ripe age of ten whole years, and has become somewhat sturdy in his legs and gifted with powers that make him heard and felt far and wide, it still remains for the S. L. P. to loyally and vigorously assist him during the coming years of further growth, to see to it that he lacks not nourishment and is not stunted in growth, but is permitted to develop into the full strength of manhood, a solace, a help, a pillar and a weapon to his proud parents.

HOW STRIKES ARE WON AND WHY STRIKES ARE LOST

Knowledge is the road to freedom. He who refuses to read, study and learn only forges the chains of ignorance which bind him and his brother to servitude.

"Los Angeles beer is unfair," is the cry of trade unionists before every saloon in Los Angeles. Why is it unfair? Why are those men on duty? Why are the brewery owners who do no useful work wealthy, while the brewery workers who do the useful work poor? Why have the brewery owners got thousands of dollars to the workers' cents? Why must Labor strike for the comforts of life in a country as large and fertile and rich in natural resources as the United States? Why do the children of the poor have to toil away their lives in the factories of the rich? Why does the blood and marrow of the workers have to ooze out of every dollar of a Carnegie, a Rockefeller, a Huntington, a Sugar Trust? Why, when workers go on strike against inhuman conditions, or strike to have the law enforced which the railroad capitalists violate as they did in Buffalo, N. Y., are workers shot down, as in Buffalo, Homestead, Hazelton, etc.? Why do employers' associations have paid spies and agent-provocateurs in our unions? Why are the working people, who are over 60 per cent. of the population, continually at the mercy of the money-power, or of about 15 per cent. of the people (the other 25 being professional elements) who riot in luxury, break laws, steal railroads, adulterate and poison our foods, and call our labor organizations conspiracies?

Why? Because we are ignorant of our power and use it against ourselves. Because we allow one-half of the workers to be used against the other half. When there is a strike the capitalist calls upon the police, militia, federal army, deputy-sheriffs, mostly all workmen themselves, to club and arrest us.

Because the capitalist uses the ever increasing army of unemployed to act as scabs.

Because we refuse to organize the unemployed.

Because we make non-union men by having high initiation fees and dues.

Because we do not see the great class struggle going on in society to-day, and become the victims as a consequence.

On the one hand, the capitalist lives on profits extracted from the worker, and the worker has to sell his labor-power for wages, and since he can not put his labor-power in cold storage he must sell it or starve.

The capitalist has thousands of dollars, owns the means of production "by grace of the workers' ignorance and vote," and has but few stomachs to feed. The workers have thousands of stomachs to feed, defend the capitalists' property rights, vote the capitalists' lawyers, judges, sheriffs, senators, congressmen, and governors into power, and when the workers ask for a little more of the wealth they produce the capitalist sheriff, whom the workers elected has hired deputies on watch to club the workers on the head. The capitalist is powerful BECAUSE HE CONTROLS YOUR JOB, and he controls your job because you legalized his ownership by voting for him. You organize into trade unions against him, and then vote for him. On election day you hand him the club with which he keeps you down the rest of the year. Be firm, men. Read and get wise. Control your own job by organizing all the workers regardless of creed, race, or color, and strike and vote to own your own job. Organize the plant from the floor sweeper to the bookkeeper; take in all who work for wages. Forget the old fallacy that Capital and Labor are brothers. Capitalists are parasites, and if you understood the laws of economics as well as you understand how to carry a hod or cry "unfair beer," you would not have to strike.

You expect machinists to understand the laws of mechanics; you expect the carpenters to understand geometry; as you are active sufferers in the economic struggle why don't you demand of your leaders to understand economics? Understand that labor-power applied to natural resources produces all wealth; that labor-power produces a surplus value, which the capitalist pays you nothing for; that you don't need the capitalist to sponge on the product of your toil any more than potato-bugs are needed to graft on potatoes.

If all the capitalists were to go to Catalina and drown on the way the workers would be better off. If all the workers were to drown the capitalists would have to go to work.

Holy smoke! See Gen. Oats, Hen Huntington, Old Rocky, etc., running a street car, building a house, etc. You say the capitalist works. Yes,

but so does a flea, a bed-bug and a pick-pocket, but they don't do USEFUL work.

The capitalists are strong because you are weak; they employ the best trained men and have millions behind them. Don't underestimate your opponent in battle. When you are told that the tin-soldier on the "Times" and old "Händler" is all there is to the M. and M., don't believe it; they have millions behind them.

But do not despair. You can easily beat them if you but study the labor question and use your power. The workmen of Lille, France, went at the matter rightly. They elected Socialists to office, and when Labor went on strike the Socialists made every striker a deputy to keep peace and paid them at the rate they were striking for—and they won the strike.

Why don't you do likewise? A Chinaman kept a pig in his house. One day the house burned down and the pig along with it. The Chinaman tasted of the roast pig and liked it, but he thought every time he wanted a little roast pork he had to burn down a house. The worker, who is not class-conscious, thinks that to obtain an existence wage, he needs a capitalist to whom he must yield large tribute.

History teaches us that the predecessors of the capitalist took forcible possession of the soil and made our forefathers serfs. But by the peaceful means of the ballot and education we can use the capitalists' own laws and methods to vote ourselves into power and make all social (not personal) means of production the property of all the people and give Gen. Oats and the rest a good job where they will get the full product of their toil. Then capitalists and workers will become brothers, that is, all will become useful workers.

You say it is impossible. Well, keep on striking and suffering and getting shot. You will learn Gen. Oats is a good enemy; he will make you learn.

Socialism will make us all free and all better, and will solve the question of poverty. Impossible? Go out in the West Lake and St. James Park district; see the happy women and children well-fed and taken care of. Why? Because they feel secure in the means of life. Go down on the East Side; look at the war and worried faces of the poor. Why? Because they do not know how to make ends meet. And yet there is plenty for all.

Now, you don't expect a flea to get off your back; you knock it off. The same with the capitalist flea. You must alter the capitalist system; you can't expect the capitalist to do it, whether it be a Simon Legree, a Gen. Oats, or a milk-sop capitalist like Hearst.

Strikes are lost because the workers are divided. When the switchmen struck, union engineers and trainmen hauled scabs to take their places. Union bartenders and union waiters are serving non-union beer; union engineers are working at the breweries. Close the ranks. Don't get angry because we tell you the truth. Your friend is he who tells you the facts. The flatterer who misinforms you and keeps you in ignorance is your worst enemy. Organize and strike on the economic field. Organize and vote on the political field. But strike right and vote right: for class-conscious Socialism; nothing else will suffice.

The question is not how to win a strike, but how to abolish the necessity of striking. That means the abolition of capitalism. Study, fellow workmen, study hard. Don't throw away a good book because it has not got a union label, and then read trash because it has a label. Judge literature by the truths it teaches. Don't be afraid.

New Occasions teach new duties, Time makes ancient good uncouth; He must upward still and onward, Who would keep abreast of Truth.

Taft and Roosevelt are fighting Socialism. So are Gen. Oats, Hearst and the rest of the capitalists. They are wise. They know that if you workers study the question it is all over with them. That's why they abuse and misrepresent Socialism. That is what the Herods and Neros did with the early Christians, but the people became wiser after the Nazarene was crucified. Our brothers in Homestead were crucified. Are you going to get wise or get beaten some more.

He who turns and runs away Will have to fight another day.

The Socialist Labor Party is your friend. It tells you the truth, and the truth will set you free, providing you seize it and act.

May you win your strike, but win or lose, keep forging on. Don't bother about the rights of the capitalist; he will take

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care of himself; organize all the workers: you have nothing to lose but your chains, and a fine country to gain.

The Supreme Court has always decided against union labor, but union labor has always voted for the Supreme Court. The local Federal Court, through Judge Bordwell, has issued an injunction against strikers. Are the strikers ready with the S. L. P. to strike against Bordwell and vote him out of office? If union labor goes into politics will it have wisdom enough to take up Socialist labor politics, or will it waste its time with Capitalist labor politics?

Capitalist labor politics simply means that union labor tries to get "satisfactory" jobs from the capitalist and with that rest content, but this leaves out of consideration the great mass of non-union and unemployed, which the employers utilize to disturb that "amity" and "content."

Socialist labor politics means to do away with working class exploitation and degradation by voting to own the factories, mines, railroads, etc., and thereby permitting the worker to own his job. It is the OWNING OF THE JOB that counts; no half-way measures.

Follow the lead of the Socialist Labor Party.

Agitation Committee.
Section Los Angeles.

AS TO CHARITY.

We are often told that the poor are grateful for charity. Some of them are, no doubt, but the best among the poor are never grateful. They are ungrateful, discontented, disobedient, and rebellious. They are quite right to be so. Charity they feel to be a ridiculously inadequate mode of partial restitution, or a sentimental dote, usually accompanied by some impertinent attempt on the part of the sentimentalist to tyrannize over their private lives. Why should they be grateful for the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table? They should be seated at the board, and are beginning to know it.

As for being discontented, a man who would not be discontented with such surroundings and such a low mode of life would be a perfect brute. Disobedience, in the eyes of any one who has read history, is man's original virtue. It is through disobedience that progress has been made, through disobedience and through rebellion.

Sometimes the poor are praised for being thrifty. But to recommend thrift to the poor is both grotesque and insulting. It is like advising a man who is starving to eat less. Man should not be ready to show that he can live like a badly-fed animal.—Soul of Man under Socialism.

SUPPRESSING INDIVIDUALISM.

The recognition of private property has really harmed Individualism, and obscured it, by confusing a man with what he possesses. It has led Individualism entirely astray. It has made gain, not growth, its aim. So that man thought that the important thing was TO HAVE, and did not know that the important thing is TO BE. The true perfection of man lies, not in what man has, but in what man is. Private property has crushed true Individualism, and set up an Individualism that is false. It has debarré one part of the community from being individual by starving them. It has debarré the other part of the community from being individual by putting them on the wrong road, and encumbering them.—Oscar Wilde.

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SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1910.

With Truth there's no compounding!
As well compounded with the overtopping
fiery pillar

That marched before the hosts of Israel;
As well compounded with the arrowy
mountain stream

That, certain of its course, is dashing on!
—LASSALLE in Franz von Sickingen.



TO THE DAILY PEOPLE ON ITS TENTH ANNIVERSARY.

By Alexander Ralph, San Francisco, Cal.

Launched in times of storm and strife,
When waves of discord mountain high
Menaced the new-born bark's young life;
And overhead the foul birds fly,
Screeching their carrion call on high.

The jagged jaws of treacherous rocks,
Revealed by water venomous white,
Whose seething hiss all hoping meek;
Defeating the gale that blusters spite,
Howling in the ear of night.

Yet the vessel spread its sail,
And straight to sea it shaped its course,
Tho the foam engulfed the rail,
And the wind howled itself hoarse,
Tho the night grew worse and worse.

Strong the captain at the wheel,
The crew it was a chosen one,
Great in strength and large in zeal;
Thus the bark sailed on and on,
Till the open sea was won.

Onward in the sunrise sea,
Wings the bark its way,
Holds its course most faithfully,
Towards the smiling sunlit bay,
Towards the land of future day.

OUR TENTH ANNIVERSARY.

The DAILY PEOPLE was the answer
given by the Socialist Labor Party,
the head of the column of the American
Labor, or Socialist Movement, to the
conspiracy against it that came to a
head on the night of July 10, 1899, and
was intended to beg, by muzzling, the
Party. The answer was given within a
twelve-month of that July night. It
was the logical answer.

Long had the S. L. P. been struggling
for a daily tribune in the English lan-
guage, and in the metropolis of the land,
in order to render more effective the
propaganda in English that then pro-
ceeded from its weekly, The People,
only, its efforts had been successfully
thwarted by the allies—within the Party
and centered around the "New York
Volkzeitung"—of various more or less
visionary, more or less reactionary ele-
ments, to whom the enlightened, without
being pedantic, the sound, without being
dogmatic, the scientific, without being
up in the clouds but being pre-eminently
practical; and the aggressive without
being blustering S. L. P. propaganda,
carried on through the Party's weekly,
was, to some a source of envy, to others
a rebuke, to all a menace.

The leaders of the conspiracy having
been successfully resisted and routed on
both the fields which they had first
chosen—on the physical field, by being
clubbed and kicked down the stairs of
the Party's Headquarters which they
had sought to invade; on the field of the
capitalist courts, whither they had sub-
sequently summoned the Party, by being
convicted out of their own mouths of
rendering false testimony, and being
thrown out of court—the Party's activi-
ty was no longer hampered. The con-
sequent result was the speedy realization
of the Party's immediate aim—the es-
tablishment of its English daily. The
Daily People was launched ten years
ago, on Sunday, July 1, 1900.

From the day that the approaching

event of the launching of the Daily
People cast its unmistakable, well de-
fined shadow across the path of the con-
spirators, the conspiracy began to as-
sume a mass character. The visionary
and reactionary hostile elements above
named reached out for further allies.
Their kindred, more pronouncedly im-
pure than even themselves, flocked to
their standard—Anarchists of both the
rose and the dirty water persuasion;
anti-Socialist labor lieutenants, corporals
and sergeants of the capitalist class;
Christian Socialist preachers without
pulpits; lawyers without briefs; fishy
professionals; promoters of get-rich-
quick and other three-card monte specu-
lators upon the unsuspecting working
class; hungry politicians; thirsty editors
and literati; etc.; etc.; all rushed to-
gether, a veritable mob of barbarians,
upon the S. L. P., the citadel of the
Party, the Daily People, being instinctively
the objective of all.

The experience of the S. L. P. resem-
bles, as time will more and more clearly
bear out, the experience made
by Rome at the time of
the first inroad of the barbarians
upon the civilization of the Roman
republic, at the time struggling for a
footing. The barbarian Gauls dashed
against the Roman territory carrying
devastation before them. The weaklings
fled to distant safety; the virile, driven
back, gathered for a last stand on the
Capitoline Hill. Against that citadel the
hordes of the Gauls dashed their heads in
vain. There were traitors among those
who had gathered on the Hill; and they
deserted; but their conduct left the true
undaunted. These—in the language with
which two thousand two hundred and
ninety-five years later the Philadelphia
Socialist party paper, the "Tageblatt,"
rendered unintentional homage to the
S. L. P., "counted neither their own few-
ness, nor the multitude of their foes." The
intrepid band on the Capitoline Hill
knew they were the Ark of Civilization.
They stood their ground. The barbarian
force spent itself; the logic of its
illogical pretenses dissolved their ranks.
The threatening flood receded. Astound-
ed Latium recovered its breath and
flocked to the support of the conquer-
ing band that now descended from the
Capitoline. The barbarians fled, never
more to appear before the walls of Rome
except as Roman captives—and Rome re-
rose—and fulfilled her historic mis-
sion.

A Capitoline Hill to the Socialist Re-
public of the land—that has been the
Daily People so far—and will prove it-
self to the end, through the whole gamut
of events. The barbarian hordes that
assailed the Daily People were resisted;
their stratagems to throw dismay into
the hearts of the men at bay, now with
false halloo of "Victory!" then through
the corruption of unprincipled individ-
uals among them, proved vain. Never
counting its numbers, and never recking
the multitude of its adversaries; con-
scious of its historic mission; the logic
of its own historically sound, the logic
of the historically unsound posture of its
adversaries steadily working in its favor,
the intrepid S. L. P. throughout the land
stood its ground on its Capitoline Hill.

Well may the S. L. P. to-day, on this
tenth anniversary of the Daily People,
and with the foe visibly melting away
preparatory to the stampede in store
for them, proudly recite the words of the
Latin poet—

We have raised a monument more last-
ing than brass,

Loftier than the regal stature of the
Pyramids,

A monument that neither the tooth of
the rainfall, nor the blast of North
Wind

Is able to wear away, nor yet the num-
berless

Sequence of years, nor the flight of
Time.

A QUESTION TO MY LORD.

We have no idea who may be Lord
Abinger—the two words inscribed in
large letters as "Hon. Treasurer" in a
neatly and several-color printed fifteen-
page little pamphlet entitled "Every
Woman's Peril," the purpose of which
pamphlet is "the exposure and conse-
quent destruction of Socialism" especially
on account of the "Slavery for women"
that Socialism contemplates; and the
further purpose of which pamphlet is the
announcement of the organization of the
"Anti-Socialist Union of Great Britain,"
and last, but no doubt not least, the
solicitations of funds for the said Union.

We have no idea who the said Lord
Abinger may be. We have no recollection
of having come across His Grace's
name among the British noble notabili-
ties who figure in the realms of states-
manship, the Navy, the Army, science,
literature or art. But that should not
be scored against him. The Hon. Treas-
urer of the Anti-Socialist Union of Great
Britain may be one of those meek, self-
effacing, modest beings who shrink from
public gaze, whom only the sense of self
abnegation can induce to stand forth in
the time-light, and who consent to sacri-
fice their own retirement upon the

altar of the to them sacred subject of wo-
man's purity by accepting the office of
and allowing themselves to be advertised
as "Hon. Treasurer."

To this My Lord the Daily People
wishes to put the following question:

"The goal of Socialism is to abolish in-
voluntary poverty; this means the secur-
ing of economic independence of man.
The collective ownership of the things
necessary to production, is the means
that Socialism declares requisite for
reaching the goal. Now, then, will My
Lord please tell us, Do you approve of
the goal or do you not? If My Lord dis-
approves of the goal, then we are ready
to drop him right here, and will be just-
ified to conclude that he is enlisted with
those who find their account in the con-
tinuance of the present conditions, and
that all his declamation of love for his
kind is the regulation false pretense of
the vampire. If, however, My
Lord approves of the goal—economic in-
dependence—then we would ask him,
What other means do you propose to
reach the goal?"

All this talk about Socialism threat-
ening to blast woman is beside the ques-
tion. The question is, how to emanci-
pate man and woman from the thrall of
economic dependence. Will Socialism do
it? Then the "blasting of woman" is
moonshine. Will Socialism not encom-
pass economic independence, then the at-
tack against it must be directed to that
point. He who leaves that point un-
touched, and yells "woman will be
blasted" justifies the suspicion that
what he is doing is to hide behind wo-
man's skirt in order to shelter his own
base ends—the ends of upholding a so-
cial system where Labor is robbed of its
product, and poverty is the doom of the
masses, and woman is debauched.

A WAGER WITH GOMPERS.

Samuel Gompers—President, Editor,
and Undertaker and Sexton of the Civic
Federationized A. F. of L.—having, in
the June "American Federationist" be-
stowed the pontifical blessing of his
name upon an article which repudiates
the Marxian law of "Surplus Value";
having, accordingly, placed himself on
record as rejecting the Socialist conten-
tion to the effect that the status of
labor-power in capitalist society is the
status of "goods, wares and merchan-
dise," the Daily People now offers the
aforenamed Gompers the following
wager:

The Daily People agrees to pay into
the hands of the said Gompers one \$100-
bill for every instance that the Daily
People may fall short of twenty to
furnish, duly authenticated and in one
bunch, passages taken from official docu-
ments issued since 1886 over the signa-
ture of the said Gompers, or taken from
official reports of A. F. of L. conven-
tions and from the columns of the pub-
lic press in which the said Gompers is
reported, and all such passages contain-
ing the expression "labor market";—
provided the said Gompers, in turn,
agrees to pay into the hands of the Na-
tional Secretary of the Socialist Labor
Party, at S. L. P. Headquarters, 25
City Hall Place, New York, one \$50-bill
for each instance, over and above the
twenty aforementioned, in which the Daily
People may furnish passages from the
sources aforementioned containing the as-
serted expression "labor-market."

The status of labor-power, under
capitalism is that of "goods, wares, and
merchandise," a commodity, in short. In
this, as in so many other instances, philo-
sophy is an aid to the understanding of
economics and sociology.

Before a word, especially before a
noun springs up, the thing it designates
must be there, tangible to feeling, or to
sense. This fact is of prime importance
to the tracing of the history of the hu-
man race. There is no such word as the
"banker market"; the term would be un-
intelligible; it would be so because the
thing which gives birth to all terms does
not exist. In this instance: the thing
necessary to give birth to the term
"banker market" is the commodity
banker; bankers not being commodities
neither can there be such a term. There
is no such term as the "railroad-director
market"; that term also would be un-
intelligible; it would be so because the
thing which gives birth to all terms
does not exist in this instance: the
thing, necessary to give birth to the
term "railroad-director market" is the
commodity railroad-director; railroad-
directors not being commodities neither
is the term known. And so forth. But
there is a certain well known word—a
word found in most works on economics,
a word that is rarely absent from any
discussion on prices, a word that hardly
an issue of any paper of importance does
not contain, a word with which many an
A. F. of L. document and Gompers utter-
ance fairly bristles with, a word known
to and understood by all—that word is
"labor market." Seeing that the word
exists, and is in such general use, the
thing, whose existence is a prerequisite
for the birth of the word itself, must be
there. The thing necessary for the birth
of the word "cattle market" exists, to

wit, the commodity cattle; the thing
necessary for the birth of the word
"woolen market" exists, to wit, the com-
modity wools; hence we have a "cat-
tle market," a "woolen market," a
"leather market," a "money market," a
"coffee market," once we had a "chat-
tle slave market," and we have a "labor
market"—proof positive that labor-pow-
er is a commodity.

Labor-power being a commodity it
must have the economic attributes of
commodities. One of the two economic
attributes of all commodities is their
"use-value": their virtue. The "use-
value" of cattle is to furnish meat food,
etc.; the "use-value" of woolen goods is
to impart warmth; the "use value" of
leather is to furnish feet protectors, etc.;
the "use-value" of money is to serve as
a medium of exchange; the "use-value"
of coffee is to promote heart disease to
furnish physicians with fees;—the "use-
value" of the labor-power is to yield an
amount of wealth larger than the
amount that it is bought for, a use-value
without which the capitalist would not
pay a copper for labor-power.

The "use-value," or virtue, of the com-
modity labor-power being that of sweat-
ing a larger quantity of wealth than its
own value or price, it follows that labor-
power yields a surplus value.

Finally, seeing that the surplus value
neither falls to the lot of Labor, nor
yet ascends to heaven to feed, clothe or
otherwise comfort the angels, but drops
plump into the pockets of the purchaser
of the commodity from which it oozed,
the capitalist class, it follows as night
follows day—

1st. That he who says "labor market"

implies that labor-power is a commodity;

2nd. That the use the capitalist has
for the commodity is its virtue of yield-
ing surplus value; and

3rd. That the Marxian law of Surplus
Value can be denied, by him who says
"labor market," only at the risk of the
acrobat's planting his foot squarely into
his own mouth.

Now, then, Samuel Gompers, President
Editor, and Undertaker and Sexton,
take up the wager.

WORK TO LIVE? OR LIVE TO WORK?

Welcome is an objection to Socialism
that seems to be cropping up just now.
It is the objection which is implied in
the question: "Would people work if
they could live without work?"

One of two things—either the putters
of the question deliberately put them-
selves in the ludicrous light of a Lord
Dundreary, who, having asked a young
lady whether her brother liked cheese,
and being answered that she had no
brother, came back with the question:
"But suppose you had a brother, would
he like cheese?" Or the putters of the
question do not mean to put themselves
in any such idiotic light.

Is the case of these objectors to So-
cialism that of a Lord Dundreary, then
they deserve no treatment other than
that bestowed upon My Lord by the
young lady in the play—to be laughed
at roundly:

Is their case not that of a Lord Dun-
dreary—then in some corner of their
minds a tallow candle must have gone
up, throwing some dim light upon a
rather important economic fact. These
objectors deserve to have the sputtering
light of a tallow candle substituted with
a powerful electric illumination.

One of the terms in which the eco-
nomic revolution of our age may be con-
densed is this: "It has rendered
WORK unnecessary."

Work means to-day arduous toil.
Such work was at one time necessary.
Such work is now no longer necessary.
The revelations of collective labor, which
the modern mechanism of production has
stimulated, leave no doubt that affluence
for all is to-day possible with barely
four hours' effort, only one hundred
days in the year. Under such circum-
stances a revolution has taken place of
incalculable social significance. WORK,
once an economic necessity, can now be
substituted by HEALTHY EXERCISE,
a permanent physical necessity.

Society may, to-day, be said to con-
sist of two mental classes—

One class thinks that man lives in
order to work. This class falls into two
categories—a category of shirkers and a
category of soft heads. The shirkers
seek to escape their principle about
man's mission in life being to work; the
soft-heads acquiesce and bear the
fardles. Both categories are unaware of
the economic revolution above sketched;

The other class holds that man works
in order to live. This class is aware
of the economic revolution which has
rendered possible the repeal of the curse
of WORK; it is aware that physical and
healthy exercise is necessary for physi-
cal well-being; and it knows that
healthy, physical exercise is all the hu-
man effort requisite to-day for civilized
existence.

Those who cynically ask: "Would peo-
ple work if they could live without
work?" and who put the question with-
out being Dundreary idiots, are on the
borderland between the mental class that

has no conception of the economic revo-
lution which has taken place in the pro-
ductivity of human effort, and the class
that is aware of this revolution. Not
yet emancipated from the mental tram-
mels of the former class, these question-
ers have glimpses of the Promised Land
seen by the up-to-date intellects of the
latter class.

HARD ON MILWAUKEE.

Tom Watson, in "The Jeffersonian"
for the first week of May, speaks of
the victory in Milwaukee as the "So-
called Socialist Victory." He calls it
"so-called Socialist" because he claims
that its principal plank and features
were Populist, hence, "Populism has
won another victory," not Socialism.
Such treatment should be hard enough
on the Milwaukee victors, but Mr.
Watson is still harder on them. He
actually "rubs it in."

After having justly claimed all that
was good in the Milwaukee Social
Democratic platform for Populism, Mr.
Watson picks out the plank which de-
mands that "washerwomen, who are
widows, shall have the use of the wa-
ter of the city free of charge," and he
declares: "That is Socialism—many
a widow who does washing is strong
and robust and needs no charity,
whereas many a married woman,
loaded with children and having a lot
of a husband on her hands, is much
more in need of the city charity of
free water for washing."

For once Mr. Watson is right—but
such is the falseness of the man's
position that even when right, he
beats a tattoo on his own head.

No doubt the "widows clause" in the
Social Democratic platform is absurd,
—and, by that token, it is not Socialism
at all but a chip of the reform block
of Populism.

It is a feature of Reform that,
whichever way it utters itself, it gets
pinched in its own cleft stick. This is
a consequence of Reform being senti-
mental, and never reasoning from fun-
damental principles. The "widow"
and the "married woman" cases illus-
trate the point.

Sound reasoning, Socialism, in
short, disregards consequences; it
looks mainly at causes. Neither wid-
owhood nor "a lot of a husband" is
necessarily a state of distress. If
either happens to be a state of dis-
tress, the cause lies further down.
The Socialist looks for the cause; the
Reformer contents himself with
scratching the surface. As a conse-
quence, the Reformer will either incur
the blunder pointed out by Mr. Watson
in the Social Democratic platform of
Milwaukee concerning widows; or he
will incur the equal blunder that Re-
former Watson forthwith proceeds to
incur of putting the plaster of free
water on the wooden leg of the "lot
of a husband"—in both instances, the
cause of the distress being left un-
touched, the relief is truly populist,
that is, inefficient and, what is worse,
a stimulator of the cause to blossom
into some fresh manifestations.

Otherwise does the Socialist pro-
ceed. He sponges off the blood of
"widowhood." In one instance, of "a
lot-of-a-husband," in the other, and
looks at the wound itself. That
wound he perceives is inflicted by the
lethal weapon of economic depen-
dence, which class-rule sharpens upon
the modern grindstone of the private
ownership of the necessities for work
and wealth-production. That once
perceived, the Socialist will aim at the
removal of the cause. While he will
not disregard the necessity of alle-
viating distress in the meantime, his
math thought will be directed towards
the attack of the root of the evil.
Thus soundly poised, whatever alle-
viation the Socialist may recommend,
never will be exposed either to the
arrows that the Milwaukee Social
Democratic platform is exposed to,
nor to the arrows that may proceed
from the Pot of Populistic Reform
aimed at the Kettle of the Milwaukee
S. D. P.

THE CROWN'S TEST OATH.

London despatches announce with
much furor that a Government bill,
altering the Crown's test oath at which
Roman Catholics took umbrage, was in-
troduced on June 28th, was received with
cheers, was supported by the leader of
the Opposition, and passed its first read-
ing with only 42 votes against and 383
in favor.

One should expect great things from a
bill so heralded. Fact is the bill is a
positive disappointment.

The present Test Oath was the product
of extraordinary circumstances. James II
had turned Roman Catholic, sur-
rounded himself with a bevy of
Jesuits, and played fast and loose with
the laws of the land—all obedient to the
dictation of Louis XIV. He was de-
throned. William and Mary, the conti-
nental center of opposition to Louis XIV,
were enthroned in his stead. Parlia-
ment, of course, sought to guard against
a recurrence of what came to be known

as Jacobitism, and it did so by two
leading acts—one in the nature of a
declaration of Rights which made the
crown the creation of the "people"; the
other the Test Oath.

The Test Oath was intended to cover
the reigning monarch of France, with
whom and his Jesuits the Pope himself
was at such variance that he made com-
mon cause with William against Louis.
Under such a combination of circum-
stances the Oath spoke the language of
the hour: the political purpose was clad
in the verbiage of theology: the same
was pointedly anti-Jesuit, and, of course,
also generally anti-Catholic.

A Test Oath, sprung from such cir-
cumstances, is to-day ridiculously
archaic. Even without umbrage being
taken by Roman Catholic British sub-
jects, the Oath should have been dis-
carded as unfitting. But umbrage hav-
ing been taken, and the proposed altered
bill being the result of such umbrage
mainly, the sentence whereby the Crown
is to declare that it "will, according to
the true intent of the enactments which
secure Protestant succession to the
throne of my realm, uphold and main-
tain said enactments to the best of my
power according to law," becomes a fresh
insult—an insult all the more unpro-
voked, considering that the bill was in-
troduced by the Premier with the state-
ment that "Nobody doubts the loyalty
of the Roman Catholic subjects of the
realm."

If religious faith in a certain creed is
not incompatible with loyalty, then the
passage cited above is gratuitous insult;
if religious faith in a certain creed is in-
compatible with loyalty, then the Prem-
ier's declaration of Roman Catholic loy-
alty is the equivocation of a juggling
fiend, unworthily paltering with the peo-
ple in a double sense.

Weighed in the scale of Reason, the
only thing that the Test Oath, as now
proposed, does test is the orthodoxy of
the British Ruling Class concerning the
fat livings of the Anglican clergy. And
that test puts Great Britain down as
still four-fifths feudal.

The Pennsylvania elements—Pittsburg
Reformers, Philadelphia Independent
Labor Party, etc., etc.—who are booming
Gifford Pinchot for Governor of the Key
Stone State have caught the true spirit
of fly-paper candidacies. If voters are
considered flies, and if a flies' vote is
what a political party is after, then the
right thing for that party to do is to
set up the stickiest fly-paper. Fly-paper
of tenth grade stickiness is love's labor
lost—as the S. P. has demonstrated,
without, however, as yet taking the les-
son to heart.

The signs of the clerical murder
of Francisco Ferrer having had an
effect exactly the opposite of what
the pious assassins calculated are mul-
tiplying. A breach between the Vati-
can and Madrid is imminent on the
very subject that Ferrer had most at
heart—non-clerical schools. And, as
a consequence, the clerical rioters,
who had been falsely accusing Ferrer
of "inciting insurrection," are now de-
claring "Civil war, rather than late
schools!" This was all to be expected.
The Dark Ages when the Roman
Catholic political machine rode the
back of human conscience with im-
punity are gone, and modern civiliza-
tion, even in Spain, is forcing the
hand of the mole. From within, the
Modernist Movement of the clergy;
from without the Progressive Move-
ment of lay society.

A write-up in the Alhambra, Calif.,
"Alhambra-Advocate" on "the genius of
industry" Alfred Dolge truly states that
"the fame of Dolge's 'colony' had be-
come more than of local size." Ay!
Ay! The fame of Dolgeville, N. Y., the
profit-sharing "colony" of Alfred Dolge
has leaped the boundaries of the local-
ity; it has leaped the boundaries of the
State; it has leaped the boundaries of
the Nation. A long series of reports
about the peculiar exploitation that the
Dolgeville employees were subjected to,
finally culminated in the mass-suicide of
one of the Dolge employees, who first
killed his wife, and his five children,
and then himself, driven thereto by the
Dolge "Genius of Industry."

Mr. Charles Edward Russell, the mag-
azine writer (nuff said) whom the So-
cialist party of this State set up as its
fly-paper candidate for Governor, has
hastened to exhibit his usefulness as a
standard bearer of Socialism. If, as the
gentleman says, "the rapid rise in the
cost of living," "the multiplying signs of
physical collapse of the capitalist sys-
tem," "the growing discontent with the
two old parties"—if the apparentness of
these results is enough to make Social-
ists, how does it happen that the said
apparentness has failed to make a So-
cialist out of Mr. Russell?

Watch the label on your paper. It
will tell you when your subscription
expires. First number indicates the
month, second, the day, third, the year.



UNCLE SAM AND

BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—What the
deuce is the good of the trade union,
anyhow?

UNCLE SAM—The mission of the
Trades Union is to organize by uniting
and to unite by organizing the WHOLE
working class industrially. Accordingly,
the Union must organize not merely
those for whom there are jobs and who
can pay dues. The industrial organiza-
tion that excludes the unemployed and
non-dues-payers ruptures the solidarity
of labor. The complete unification of
labor is essential for victory. It is es-
sential because peace cannot reign in a
political party of warring workers; and
it is essential in order to save the even-
tual political victory from bankruptcy.

B. J.—Bankruptcy!

U. S.—Yes, sir; bankruptcy. Do you
remember the threat that the Trust
magnates made to the Working Class
in 1896, in 1904, and again in 1908?

B. J.—They threatened that if Bryan
were elected they would shut down,
stop production.

U. S.—And do you know what that
would mean? It would mean the bank-
ruptcy of the political victory.

B. J.—But what would enable the
capitalist class to carry out their threat?

U. S.—The fact that the Working
Class is divided between the organized
job holders and the unorganized unem-
ployed. The fact that the industries are
not all organized from top to bottom.
Without the practical solidarity of La-
bor in thoroughgoing industrial bodies
the working class will be unable to as-
sume and conduct production the mo-
ment the guns of the public powers fall
into its hands—or before, if need be,
if capitalist political chicanery pollutes
the ballot box.—So there you have, the
gun that you yourself cast—the gun of
"Ignorance Concerning the Union"—
raking you fore and aft.

B. J. looks annihilated.

U. S.—But now comes the other gun
—the gun of "Superstition Concerning
the Union."

B. J.—What is that?

U. S.—It is the inevitable obverse of
the attitude of men who foster a su-
perstitious awe for the word "Union."
Take the familiar instances of Corra-
gar in his Typographical Union, of Valen-
tine Wagner with his Brewers' Union
of

Catholic Church and Socialism

By James H. Arnold, Louisville, Ky.

This article is written by a Catholic. And it is written, in the main, to encourage those Catholic workmen who, through a false and ill-founded fear of the Church's censures, hesitate to enlist in the struggle of their class for the overthrow of wage slavery and the rearing of the co-operative commonwealth. The average Catholic workman reasons about as follows: "Better suffer the ills we now have, of low wages, uncertainty of employment, poverty and the hardships of life in this world, bad as they are, than, by becoming a Socialist, to incur the chance of damnation in the next."

"It is true the Socialists promise us in their proposed co-operative commonwealth, if the working class will join them to establish it, many times more of the necessities, comforts and the blessings of life than we get now under the existing condition of society;—but what doth it profit a man to gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?"

"The church has condemned Socialism; it must, therefore, be a bad thing, or the Church would not have condemned it. The Church is the mouthpiece of God on earth; and to his church Christ has said, 'He who hears you hears me; and he who despises you despises me.' When, therefore, the church pronounces her judgment and condemnation upon Socialism it is the same as if Christ himself had pronounced that judgment and condemnation. My duty, then, as a good Catholic is plain. I must hold aloof from the Socialist movement, or I must actively oppose it; for when Rome speaks the case is ended."

It is true that unofficially high church dignitaries have condemned Socialism, or what they have been pleased to term Socialism. It is true that Pope Leo XIII once wrote an encyclical letter against it; and it is true that smaller luminaries of the church, religious and secular, from bishops down to the humble parish priests have written books, and pamphlets, and articles for the press almost innumerable against it; and they have preached sermons, and declared lectures world without end against it.

And yet, notwithstanding all this, a Catholic may be a Socialist; may hold firmly to the economic and political principles of Socialism; may join the Socialist organization, and aid its propaganda. Why? Because the condemnation of Socialism by the church has never been pronounced officially. Pope Leo's Encyclical against it was not delivered *ex cathedra*; and was not when delivered, and is not now binding, upon the consciences of Catholics; and until the church ventures to pronounce officially her inhibition, or the Pope his anathema *ex cathedra* against it, a Catholic may, if he wishes, remain in his church and, at the same time, stand unflinchingly by his Socialist convictions. There is no record so far as I know, of any Catholic ever having been excommunicated for adhering to the Socialist cause.

The church is wiser now than she was three hundred years ago when she condemned Galileo for the "heresy" of teaching that the earth revolves around the sun.

THE CHURCH'S CONDEMNATION OF GALILEO proves that the sphere of her infallible teaching is limited. The chief facts in the case of Galileo will teach us a useful lesson now as to the proper boundaries of the church's infallibility. Let me cite them.

The Holy Office appointed theologians to examine Galileo's teachings, who made their report to the effect that the proposition: "That the earth is not the center of the world, nor immovable, but that it moves with a diurnal motion, is in like manner absurd and false in philosophy, and, considered in theology, at least erroneous in faith." We therefore, say, pronounce and declare that you, Galileo, have made yourself vehemently suspect of heresy to this Holy Office—i. e. of having believed and held a doctrine false and contrary to the sacred and divine scriptures. Galileo had incurred the usual penalties for "heresy," but, if he would abjure and detest the said errors, viz., of believing and teaching that the world turns on its axis once in 24 hours, and makes an annual revolution around the sun, they would absolve him.

But the church dignitaries allege against Socialism that many of its foremost exponents are INFIDELS, FREETHINKERS, ATHEISTS, and, therefore, Socialism must be condemned. Let us see if this is so. Many of the foremost men in the movement for the abolition of chattel slavery were far from being orthodox Christians. Will any anti-Socialist priest or bishop say to-day that no Catholic could have been an Abolitionist because Garrison, and Phillips, and Love-

joy, and Lincoln were freethinkers, or infidels or atheists? Well, hardly. And doesn't Archbishop Ireland every year, at the Civic Federation banquet, stick his knees under the mahogany with the freethinker, Andrew Carnegie? Certainly, he does. Do his fellow Catholic bishops or priests anywhere condemn him for this? Of course not.

Was not Robert S. Ingersoll, the agnostic, one of the greatest, the most eloquent of Republicans? Is not W. H. Taft, president of the United States to-day, a Unitarian, a member of a church that denies the divinity of Christ? He is. Will the Pope, therefore, or any priest or bishop say that no good Catholic can be a Republican? Certainly not.

Was not Thomas Jefferson, founder of the Democratic party a freethinker? He was. Will any bishop or priest, therefore, hold that no good Catholic can be a Democrat? Certainly not. Then why allege such facts as reasons why a Catholic may not be a Socialist?

That infidels, and freethinkers, and atheists have espoused the cause of Socialism is not a discredit to Socialism. On the contrary, it is to the credit and honor of the said "infidels," "freethinkers," and "atheists" that they have espoused it.

That certain high church dignitaries, bishops and priests, have condemned Socialism does not discredit Socialism itself; it rather places the said "high church dignitaries" in an unfavorable light themselves, in the eyes of the intelligent proletariat, for in opposing Socialism they show themselves in favor of the continued enslavement of labor.

But it is alleged against Socialism that its doctrines lead to "FREE LOVE" IN THE BAD SENSE OF THAT TERM, tend to undermine the family and break up the home; that, therefore, Catholics are warned to "avoid Socialists as they would the devil himself."

It is a great pity this violent hostility of high church dignitaries to the "free love" wickedness did not manifest itself sooner, and on a more universal scale. Pope Alexander VI was a notorious "free lover." He kept his mistress or mistresses right along during his whole pontificate of eleven years, and appeared more interested in providing places of distinction, social rank, and financial ease for his illegitimate sons and daughters than he was in guarding the moral and spiritual welfare of the faithful committed to his care. Why didn't the prelates of the church go after Alexander VI? Here they could have given to the world an illustrious example of their uncompromising hostility to "free love," to "home wreckers," and "underminers of the family" by deposing their celebrated chief, Pope Alexander VI, but they didn't. If our high church dignitaries were so unbearably hostile to "free love" practices, why didn't they wage a religious crusade against the kings, princes, and royal families of Europe and other Christian lands that have indulged rather freely in "free love" vices? What king, or prince, or member of royalty has ever been cut off from communion with the church, or burned at the stake for his "free love" affairs?

No, the big men of the church are not so much alarmed about the harmful effect of the Socialist propaganda upon the "morals of society," as would appear from the emphasis they put upon that phase of the subject. What, then, is the real reason of the hostility of the big men of the church to the Socialist Movement? What is it in Socialism that is so obnoxious to these "men of God"? The reason is to be found in the fact that they are, most of them, by birth, and all of them by education and training, of and for the ruling class in society. They are opposed to Socialism for the same reason that the capitalist is opposed to it. They are opposed to Socialism for the same reason that the Southern slave owner was opposed to the emancipation of his slaves; for the same reason that the employing class, in general, which eats its bread in the sweat of the faces of the slaves it buys in the labor market, is opposed to eating its bread in the sweat of its own.

The high dignitaries of the church believe in, and uphold, the existing social order, capitalism, to-day, just as at one time they believed in, and upheld feudalism, and at another time serfdom. But, in spite of their support, feudalism has virtually passed away, and serfdom is gone from most civilized countries; and the church, great as is her influence in the world, will not be able to save capitalism from its impending downfall; will not be able to prevent the final union of the world's workers under the banner of Socialism to win their freedom from the bondage of wage slavery.

Now, my fellow Catholic workmen, was the case of Galileo ended when "Rome spoke"? Did Galileo and his followers jeopardize the salvation of their immortal souls by teaching that the earth revolves on its axis? Was it

necessary to the salvation of the souls of the millions of Catholics of Galileo's day that they accept the decision of the church that the earth does not revolve on its axis, nor around the sun? Was the decision of the church in that case the decision of Christ? Was the scientific truth discovered by Galileo and held and taught by him wicked, and sinful, and hateful in the sight of God because "wicked," and "sinful," and "hateful" in the sight of God's Church? Of course not, you will answer.

Then tell me, please, why any Catholic workman should hesitate a moment to become a Socialist and enlist in the economic and political struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and wage slavery and for the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth?

The infallibility which Christ was pleased to confer upon his church does not extend to the science of economics and politics in our day any more than it extended to the science of astronomy in the days of Galileo. It is true the church believed three hundred years ago that Galileo's teachings fell under her jurisdiction; but she does not believe so now. The church was not infallible in matters of science then. She is not infallible in matters of science now.

The church's condemnation of Galileo for "heresy" did not make Galileo a heretic then; nor does the church's "unofficial" condemnation of Socialism make the Socialist a heretic to-day. When the Pope's Encyclical was read in the churches throughout the world condemning Socialism it was not explained to the faithful who heard it that the Encyclical was not an *ex cathedra* utterance; and that, therefore, Catholics were at liberty to accept the Pope's teachings on the Social Question, as contained therein or reject them, according to their best judgment, without endangering, in the least, the salvation of their souls.

No, this explanation, so far as I know, was nowhere made. But it should have been made. To leave the millions of Catholic workmen to believe, much less to encourage them to believe, the Pope's Encyclical against Socialism to have been official and binding when it was unofficial and advisory only is to deceive, not to enlighten, them.

I do not know whether the church's condemnation of Galileo and his "heresy" was read in the churches of Catholic Christendom; but, if it was, I have no doubt that the faithful who heard it felt themselves bound, under pain of sin, to accept that condemnation as an infallible utterance; that they were bound to believe with the "learned theologians" of the Holy Office that the Earth is the center of the world; that it does not turn on its axis diurnally; that it does not make an annual revolution around the sun; that Galileo was a very wicked man for teaching that it does; and that he was most justly condemned and imprisoned for such false teaching.

But the church is sorry now that she condemned Galileo; is sorry, no doubt, for her condemnation of John Huss, and of Savonarola to be turned over to the secular arm, the one to be burned and the other hanged for heresy. The church is sorry to-day that the blessed Joan of Arc was suffered to be condemned for "heresy, idolatry, witchcraft and sorcery" by high dignitaries of the church, ecclesiastical and lay, and burned at the stake,—so sorry, indeed, that she is now canonizing her as one of her greatest saints; is sorry of her war of extermination against the Albigenses; is sorry, heartily sorry, and ashamed of her record in the Inquisition;—and I feel sure the day is not far off when she will be sorry for the Encyclicals, books and papers her high church dignitaries have written against Socialists and the Socialist Movement.

But no Catholic need anticipate to-day for being a Socialist such a fate as was sometimes meted out to "heretics" in former times. The only fire the church makes use of in these days as a means of exciting fear in the hearts of sinners in general and "heretics" in particular is the fire of a future world, and even that is used more sparingly than formerly.

But the church dignitaries allege against Socialism that many of its foremost exponents are INFIDELS, FREETHINKERS, ATHEISTS, and, therefore, Socialism must be condemned. Let us see if this is so. Many of the foremost men in the movement for the abolition of chattel slavery were far from being orthodox Christians. Will any anti-Socialist priest or bishop say to-day that no Catholic could have been an Abolitionist because Garrison, and Phillips, and Love-

UNDER SOCIALISM

Under Socialism no man will be able to keep another from working or take from him a part of his product, for we shall all together own and control and use the things wherewith we work.

Under Socialism, then, there will be no such thing as fighting for jobs, and no such thing as unwilling idleness. Under Socialism we shall work for ourselves, not for a profit-master. We shall receive the full value of our product, which, even with all the waste that capitalism involves, is at least from twice to four times as much as the wage-workers now receive.

With the resources that science and invention have provided there will be no fear of want. Working for ourselves—concerned, not to hold our jobs and so get ourselves a bare living, but simply to produce as much as we require—we shall not work at a killing pace, as now, any more than we shall go from factory to factory, pleading for a master to let us toil.

To-day, as a result of overwork, and of avoiding accidents, and of the bad feeding, bad clothing and bad housing that result from poverty, the average lifetime of the working people is many years shorter than that of the capitalists—nowwithstanding many of these latter shorten their own lives by luxury and excess.

Under Socialism, since no one need be overworked, since no one will have an interest (as the masters of industry now have) in maintaining dangerous and unhealthy conditions in the places of employment, and since the workers, receiving the full product of their labor, will be well fed, well clothed and well housed, it follows that men and women will not prematurely break down and become unable to work, as they do now.

Under Socialism, because then we shall not have ever at our elbow the spectre of the Fear of Want, and because the obvious interest of each will be the obvious interest of all, whereas now we are compelled to jostle and trample on each other daily for a chance to live, it follows that kindly and generous feelings will be developed instead of being repressed by greed and maddening anxiety.

Under Socialism, then, men and women will work in their years of bodily vigor—and those years will be more than they are now—and out of that which they produce, besides providing for the needs of the children, there will be plenty left to maintain the old folk—there is plenty left now, but it is left in the capitalists' hands and they consider it their own and think they deserve a special blessing from heaven if they give a little to relieve the distress of the misery that happens to come under their careless eyes.

Under Socialism, with so much greater wealth and with so much less of personal greed and selfishness as a result of changed conditions, we shall see organized society gladly providing, as a matter of simple right, for the comfort of the veteran of the army of labor.

Under Socialism, the children will play, the youth will learn, men and women in the prime of life will work as free comrades and the aged will rest from their labors and enjoy honor and give to the world the benefit of their experience and ripened wisdom.—The New World.

DON'T WAKE 'EM UP.

What did you tell that man just now? I told him to hurry.

What right have you to tell him to hurry? I pay him to hurry.

What do you pay him? \$2.50 a day.

Where do you get the money to pay him with? I sell bricks.

Who makes the bricks? He does.

How many bricks does he make? Twenty-four men can make 24,000 bricks a day.

How much do bricks sell for? \$10 a thousand.

You give him \$2.50 and keep the rest? Sure!

Then you really require him to render you tribute for your commanding him to hurry?

Well, but I own the machinery.

How did you get the machinery? Sold bricks and bought it.

Who made those bricks? Shut up; you'll wake the men up and then they'll make bricks for themselves.

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Snares of Capitalism

By Cyprien, Maryland.

Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and it can not be expected but that capitalist society will fight to the last ditch to save itself from extinction. Its vast accumulations of wealth; its enormous and absolute power; the ease, comfort and distinction it enjoys—all these it will not voluntarily relinquish. It will surrender only when it has been outlawed and its political state abolished.

But the force that could successfully cope with and dispossess capitalist society, is it available and could it be engaged to undertake such a task? Such a force exists even now potentially; all that is needed is to bring it under proper direction and control. Capitalist society is well aware of the existence of this dormant power in the exploited masses, and the question of maintaining this dormant condition is one of its gravest anxieties. It sees clearly that once that power awakes to life and consciousness naught remains for it but to summon its priests to chant its "Nunc dimittis."

Ordinarily an enemy can be combatted in either of two ways or by both: force and cunning. But owing to the nature of the case, capitalist society is debarré from employing force. As a parasite, pure and simple, it must tolerate the host upon which it lives—the proletariat in which this hostile force resides. It is thereupon driven to rely upon its cunning to sustain its overlordship against the growing ambition of the workers. The compelling obligation, then, upon the proletariat is to watch for and detect the use made of this weapon in all the various agencies employed by the capitalist class. Knowing that for the present this is the enemy's elected arm of defense, the proletariat must doubt every profession of that enemy, scrutinize all its terms and proposals, analyze its arguments if it would avoid being taken in its toils.

With the struggle upon this field, the

advantages are apparently all on the side of society. From the beginning of capitalism till now they have had in their hands the training of the young, and the bread and shelter of riper age. Educated by every institution of that society to the role of servants, we yield service in that capacity without ever questioning the justice or reasonableness of the capitalist regime. Fear, the arch-enemy of mankind, has been turned to profitable account in the schemes of this society to perpetuate its rule. Religion proclaims the sanctity of the economic doctrine and freely hurls its anathemas against those who have the temerity to dispute it. In all ages and in all countries despotism has found its best safe-guards in religion; and capitalist society finds its best ally in its efforts to make permanent the status of servility for the world outside itself.

It might be thought, then, that so long as society can in this way shape to its ends the youthful proletarian mind, so long might it reasonably be deemed secure in its position of dominance. But there are tendencies in capitalism itself that, despite all efforts to counteract them, work steadily towards the undoing of capitalist society. These tendencies are inherent in the nature of capitalism and can not be eradicated. In consequence of their existence the different elements of capitalist society are at strife among themselves, and a marked disintegration is in progress. The old-time errors, for instance, the hoary superstitions which society harbors and encourages for the sake of their effect on the "lower class," are by a science that this society also nourishes shown to be absurd, impossible and unworthy of belief. Besides this, the enlightening effects of modern development begin to exhibit themselves in the changing attitude of the under-world towards the ruling class. Our masters call it "un-

rest" and have set their wits to work in earnest in order to allay it. These symptoms, in the one class of decay, in the other of adolescence, are the certain signs of the passing of the capitalist epoch. Society still feels itself too strong to take alarm, but it indicates its recognition of a condition of change by a change of policy and by extending its lines of defense. To the more conservative and unenlightened labor-organizations it has opened its arms. It showers its favors upon their officers, exalts them to high political places, makes them welcome to their banquets, consults with them upon affairs of importance and in other ways flatters and cajoles them with the result that the natural impulses and aspirations of the rank and file are repressed and stifled by those who ought to be leaders in revolt. The new measures of defense may be seen in the various novelties lately discussed by parliaments and congresses under the head of industrial insurance, old-age pensions, employers' liability laws, etc. The purpose of these, it is alleged, is to afford relief to working people. Their real object is to befuddle the workers, to cloud the proletarian mind, to deaden the proletarian class-instinct and to protect by the pretense of a conciliatory demeanor the generally accepted relationship of master and man.

In brief, then, what the proletarians must bring themselves thoroughly to understand is that capitalist society is a thing wholly outside of and above them; that while theoretically included in it they are really no more a part of it than were the ancient slave-populations parts of the societies that oppressed and exploited them. This truth clearly apprehended, the conviction must inevitably follow that capitalist society's interest in them is to profitably exploit them and to exploit them as comfortably and inexpensively as possible. Taking these two facts together, and in their light looking again at the methods indicated above, one cannot avoid the conclusion that this society knows its business.

ANOMALIES OF CAPITALISM

WORKERS CAN PRODUCE MORE THAN ENOUGH FOR ALL, YET MUST SUFFER PRIVATION.

The present organization of society has many anomalous and portentous features. Who has not been struck by the peculiar problem of a permanent class of the unemployed? In this country they are numbered by hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions. Those in power have never dared to collect accurate statistics on this point (though the census laws have called for it), except perhaps once in Massachusetts, and then the result was so startling that it was never tried again. For most workers there is constant uncertainty of employment; periods of enforced idleness being frequent, and steady work exceptional. There is a sense of insecurity, of ever present fear for the future, that makes a dog's life of it at the best.

Is there not something amazing about such a state of affairs? It is admitted that every able-bodied man is capable of producing, by his work, value equivalent to subsistence, at least. No one pretends that the resources of this country are exhausted, or have been outrun by population. Nor does any one claim that there is such an abundance for all that it is unnecessary for these men to work. For we know well enough that, under present conditions, no matter how much he has produced, stoppage of work to the worker means starvation. It is also perfectly clear that every waste of labor power involves a corresponding decrease in the sum total of our national production and wealth. And finally, right in this body of the unemployed, are men of every occupation, fully capable of supplying each others needs, and willing, if only given the chance. Why, then, must any be idle? Why is this labor power wasted? Why can not these men get an opportunity to work? Is not the system which results in such involuntary idleness, and can find no remedy other than a debasing charity, condemned by such a fact alone?

Alongside this fact of the enforced idleness of the men, consider the growing employment in our industries of women and even children in their places. It is not for us to point the finger of scorn at the savage because he makes the squaws do the work! The census reports show that this evil is growing steadily. And as a direct result of it, a danger is arising that threatens the very life of our institutions, dependent as they are for their success upon the intelligence of the people. The children are being kept out of the schools. It is estimated that in New York City alone nearly 100,000

children of school age are not in the schools.

Is not that system twice condemned, which not only forces idleness upon the men, but takes women from their homes and children from the schools to displace them, throwing the burden of the world's work upon those least able to bear it?

Consider, for a moment, one other anomaly—perhaps the most striking of them all. With the concentration and organization of industries in the form of the pool or trust, it is frequently found that if the means of production at hand are fully utilized, the supply will be in excess, not, mark you, of the real needs of the people, but of the commercial demand. Then comes the first step in a vicious circle. Either a general curtailment of production is resorted to, or some of the factories are closed; which but increases the mass of the unemployed, of those suffering from the lack of the very things, possibly, which these factories might produce, and willing to work to get them. Means of production ample, men in plenty—and both idle! How is it possible to defend the system which forces us into such an absurd deadlock—one so terrible in its consequences; which restricts production, and even creates artificial famines for speculative purposes, while millions are getting barely enough to keep them alive, and millions more are so little removed from destitution that a few weeks' idleness would reduce them to pauperism?

And take it in the unregulated fields of production, where competition is still a force. Here things drift helplessly round, periods of activity and periods of depression and panic following one another with a certainty that can almost be predicted. All for a time seems going well, when suddenly we are confronted by that preposterous bugaboo of over-production, that riddle which capitalism has never solved. For the shutdown to which it resorts is neither more nor less than a confession of absolute incompetency, and but intensifies the evil by destroying what little purchasing power the workers may have. And with what result! Enforced idleness and consequent privation and suffering on the one hand, and storehouses filled to overflowing on the other. The workers reduced to beggary, not because they have exhausted the resources of nature, but because they have produced too much! Were it not so tragic in its results, such an exhibition of topsy-turvy-dem might

seem a fit subject for the farcical pen of the author of Negative Gravity. It is the reductio ad absurdum of capitalist production. And yet we are told it in the exhausting brain-work and the far-seeing sagacity of the capitalist which entitle him to flick from the workers such a disproportionate share of the product! Verily, "The rich man is wise in his own conceit; but the poor that hath understanding searcheth him out." These anomalies might be multiplied indefinitely. They are patent on every side to anyone who looks beneath the surface of events. Not merely normal features, they can be shown to result inevitably from the present constitution of society. When, therefore, the upholders of such a travesty of common sense throw stones at the Socialists, calling them discontented cranks and visionaries incapable of logical thought, it is at times difficult to decide whether to be more indignant or amused.

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A RETROSPECT

By Louis C. Fraina.

This article will deal with the reasons which prompted the writer to leave the Socialist party and join the Socialist Labor Party. As these reasons are rather obvious, they will be but briefly dealt with here.

Whoever has studied the psychology of new converts to Socialism, realizes how great a role sentiment plays in getting them into the Movement; science and material interests are hardly to be considered as factors of any weight or moment. At the stage where we now are, this is inevitable. The mass of the people is of the earth, earthy, and lethargic to boot; and difficult is the task of stirring it into activity. Hence the message of Revolution is ever carried forth by a few persons with the glow of the ideal within them; and assiduously, in spite of persecution and adversity, do they wage their propaganda, until economic conditions and the material interests of the mass unite with the revolutionists to achieve a social transformation. Revolutionary movements of the past demonstrate the accuracy of this view; and the modern Socialist Movement is in the identical position.

What first attracted the present writer to Socialism, was its ideal of universal fraternity. This is typical of the new convert. A reading of various radical authors—of whom Hugo, Zola, Shaw, are examples—had engendered in me sympathy for the lowly and the oppressed; and I had become possessed of what may be termed a radical social psychology. A vague spirit of revolt imbued my mind; and like many in the same position, it made me susceptible to the Socialist propaganda. The Movement thus secured a new adherent—but a sentimental and ignorant one. A knowledge, even superficial, of the basic principles of Socialism I did not possess; sympathy and vague aspirations constituted the motive-force that led to my conversion.

And as the Socialist party, with its "hurrah" campaign made the most noise, I became a member of that organization. The S. L. P. was to me an unknown quantity.

Once within the Movement, the bubble of sentiment was wrecked on the rock of material fact. I began to read, above all, think, on sociologic subjects; and many fondly cherished illusions were shattered. When the material basis of Socialism and religion—Socialism, a product of economic evolution and the class struggle; religion, a striving for a spurious happiness due to adverse social conditions—was grasped, the idiocy of the "Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man" concept, of which sentimentalists so dearly love to prate, was exposed. Thus with other false ideas; and when a reading of Socialist literature had impressed me with the essential and necessarily revolutionary character of the Proletarian Movement, I perceived the opportunistic nature—rather impossible, for opportunism is the true impossibility—of the Socialist party, imbued as it is with notions of bourgeois radical reform. On this latter head, Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire" was a revelation as to the necessity of revolutionary Socialist tactics.

It was at this period that I first came in contact with S. L. P. literature. A copy of the "Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World" was read by me, followed by a few other similar pamphlets. A great light dawned on my mind, that illumined many hitherto dark corners of Socialist tactics; and, being interested, I began to make inquiries of my S. P. comrades as to the S. L. P. Foul and fanatical abuse was the answer. Members of the S. L. P. were branded as "scabs," "union-wreckers," "disrupters of the Socialist Movement," and so on, ad nauseam. DeLeon in particular was slandered unmercifully, especially by certain "comrades," members of Gompers' International Cigar Makers' Union. And with reason, for time and again has The People pilloried, through its presentation of facts, this particular union as a scab-herding concern and "coffin-society," impotent to do aught of benefit for the proletariat; and mental cripples such as the individuals mentioned ever become furious when proven to be in error, because, forsooth, they will not be "dictated" to by any one! Hence the slander and abuse; and I use these words calmly, accurately, for these attacks on the S. L. P. consisted of mere denunciatory phraseology, unsupported by facts; and where one of these individuals—a deserter from the S. L. P.—supplied me with what he deemed "facts," they were not only irrelevant but proven on investigation to be distorted and false. Gradually, I began to perceive that there was "something wrong in Denmark."

All this bred within me sympathy for

the S. L. P.; but, taught by experience, I determined not to repeat the error made in joining the S. P., by letting sympathy and sentiment guide my actions. Accordingly, I applied myself assiduously to a study of the history, principles and tactics of the S. L. P. and the Revolutionary Socialist Movement. I emerged from this study converted; and the salient reasons for my leaving the Socialist party may be thus briefly summarized:

First:—At one time there was but a single political party of Socialism in this land—the Socialist Labor party. Then, in 1899, came an upheaval in the Movement, and the Socialist party was launched. The primary cause of this event lay in the attitude of two elements—which may be broadly designated as the revolutionary—proletarian and bourgeois—reform—towards the question of Unionism. The revolutionary element held that trades unionism was corrupt in both principle and practice, due to its being predicated on the false theory of the "identity of interests between labor and capital"; that a revolutionary economic organization was an imperatively essential weapon of the Socialist Movement and that, consequently, it was the duty of a political party of Socialism to agitate and strive for a correct economic organization of the working class. The bourgeois-reform element repudiated this posture, and declared for neutrality on the union question. The revolutionists branded this as cowardly and treasonable to the proletariat for it implied neutrality towards the chicanery of the capitalist class. After a bitter struggle, during which the reformers sought to throttle the revolutionary and uncompromising propaganda of the S. L. P., the incubus of this reform-element was gotten rid of, it bolting the S. L. P. and in co-operation with the Debs' Social Democracy, organizing the new Socialist party. This historic evidence proved that the S. L. P. was the true revolutionary Socialist organization, while the S. P., was, and continues to be, an ignorant crew of social reformers, neglecting the arduous task of educating and organizing the proletariat on a class-conscious, revolutionary basis, political and economic, and, instead, seeking to whistle in votes by a policy of "Socialist" quackery, compromising with proletarian prejudices and promising reforms as practically the be-all and end-all of Socialist effort—reform that it would be difficult to realize, and even if realizable, would prove of no avail to the exploited working class.

Second:—In the abstract, the S. P. and S. L. P. may be said to have the identical goal in view—Socialism; but, concretely, they differ in that as much as they do in tactics. Socialism implies Industrial Democracy and an industrial Central Directing Authority, consisting of representatives from the productive industries of the land; social evolution dictates the destruction of political government based on geographical demarcations. The only feasible method of achieving this triple end lies through the agency of the integral industrial organization of the proletariat—the structure of the new society within the shell of the old. The S. L. P., in agitating for constructive Industrial Unionism, builds for Industrial Democracy—Socialism; the S. P. in declaring political action to be all-sufficient in achieving a social transformation, (which means having our political government dominate industry) builds for state capitalism and industrial autocracy. Furthermore, it is idle to imagine that the capitalist class will calmly allow us to capture its citadel of political government; it will resist, and unless the working class has the might of the industrial organization, the Revolution will prove a fiasco. And, pursuing the matter further, to postulate the thesis that political action can realize a Socialist Revolution is practically repudiating the Marxian theory of historical materialism, which declares that fundamental social changes are wrought by economic power. Political action is in the nature of an auxiliary weapon, albeit an essential one, in the proletarian class struggle. The dominant weapon is the integral industrial union organized for the Social Revolution.

Third:—A powerful economic fact dictates working class solidarity—industrial, political, international—as a prerequisite for the Social Revolution. Due to competition for the world's markets, the capitalist class is torn with dissensions: the wolfish thirst for profits and the necessity of disposing of the surplus product stolen from the workers impel the capitalists of each separate country to strive fiercely for the mercantile mastery of the globe. So necessary is this mastery that we see the capitalist governments increasing their armies and navies as the years go by, in preparation

for that vast conflict bound to be precipitated by this struggle for markets,—and this in spite of pretentious, though impotent Hague Conferences, Rooseveltian Berlin addresses on International Peace, and similar hypocritical twaddle. But while this antagonism of interest is evident, this other fact is also true: that in their opposition to the revolutionary proletariat the capitalist exploiters are ONE; irrespective of race, creed or country: in times of danger in their struggles with the fleeced toilers, they smother their animosities, close their ranks, and present an undivided front to the common foe; and in the measure that the Socialist Movement becomes more powerful, this international coalition of the capitalist class will become more secure. When we couple to this the workers' common exploitation in whatever land or clime they be, the need of International Proletarian Solidarity is immediately evident. Consequently, the Socialist doctrine, "Workers of the world, unite!" is no hollow mockery, no mere lip-service, but a pulsing and necessary factor in the Social Revolution. Whoever by word or action do aught to sunder this unity betray the Socialist-proletarian movement. Whatever their protestations of abstract fidelity to Socialism may be, they are in fact fools, or, what is more likely, schemers and politicians, masquerading as "revolutionists," who see in the Socialist Movement, not a lever for Proletarian Emancipation, but a means of leaping into the saddle of political place and power. The Socialist party belongs in this latter category, as it denies the necessity of International Solidarity. At two successive International Congresses and one National Convention it introduced resolutions aiming at the exclusion of immigrants from "backward races." Such a move would create a spirit of International Hostility, in lieu of solidarity; it would shatter the proletariat into as many antagonistic factions as there are nationalities; and would make impossible the unity so essential to our ultimate triumph. The Socialist Labor party, unlike the unSocialist attitude of the S. P., has ever striven and continues to strive for International Proletarian Solidarity; it proceeds on the principle that the slogan "Workers of the World, Unite!" must be, not a mere empty phrase, but a living and actual fact.

These are, briefly, the reasons which prompted me to resign from the S. P. and they so dove-tail into each other as to really constitute ONE reason—the Socialist Labor party is the only political representative of Revolutionary Socialism in the United States. There are other defects in the S. P. which would prompt one to leave that body, such as its advocacy of reforms as "steps" to Socialism, its lack of Marxian educational facilities, etc.; but these are subsidiary to the three enumerated above and hence will not be dealt with.

LABOR AND LEISURE.

Labor is required for physical, and leisure for moral improvement: from the former of these advantages the rich, and from the latter the poor, by the inevitable condition of their respective situations, are precluded. A state which should combine the advantages of both would be subjected to the evils of neither. He that is deficient in firm health; or vigorous intellect, is but half a man: hence it follows that, to subject the laboring class to unnecessary labor, is wantonly depriving them of any opportunities of intellectual improvement; and that the rich are heaping up for their own mischief the disease, lassitude and ennui by which their existence is rendered an intolerable burthen.—Percy Bysshe Shelley.

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FROM THE COLORADO FIELDS

WESTERN WORKING CLASS DISSATISFIED WITH THE DIFFERENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS IT HAS TRIED—S. L. P. NEEDED.

By George Anderson, Montclair, Colo.

To a superficial observer, who is anxious to see the wage slaves united for their emancipation, there is not much in the present condition of the Labor Movement in Colorado, to inspire or encourage. The high cost of the necessities of life makes it difficult for the worker to provide for his family, his wages have not kept pace with the increasing prices of other commodities. When he spasmodically lays down his tools and demands an increase in the price of the only commodity he has to sell, his labor-power, he finds himself up against, not only the united capitalist class and its powerful agencies, but also other crafts of wage workers who remain at work while he is striking, thus assisting the employer to speedily crush the striker's effort.

In Denver the building trades workers are in a hopeless squabble, fighting among themselves as to which craft should do certain kinds of work; these scab it upon one another on all occasions. The fakirs of the Trades and Labor Assembly in Denver are doing their share to muddle and confuse the minds of the workers, and have succeeded in making the sessions of the Assembly, for many months past, a sort of propaganda meeting of the middle class taxpayers, where the question of municipal ownership of the water plant was the main question discussed. This lead to all sorts of internal strife and disruption, while the wage workers were actually starving.

On January 31st of the present year, about one hundred miners were slaughtered in the Primero mine explosion. The State Labor Commissioner in his report declared that "The Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. knew the mine was full of gas and dangerous, but made no attempt to remedy conditions, relying on its control of county and state officials and its army of deputy sheriffs to avoid all disagreeable consequences of its criminal neglect." That the mighty corporation did not overestimate its power seems evident, as no step has as yet been taken by the authorities to punish the company guilty of wholesale murder.

Nor has the United Mine Workers or Western Federation of Miners been able to organize the miners in the employ of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. The unions are powerless when they meet the modern corporation and trust; they can not remedy existing conditions nor prevent such disasters as that at Primero. The leaders are too busy seeking political favors and looking after their own material interest, while the craft character of the union makes it little better than an unorganized mob.

And the Western Federation of Miners? Once decidedly progressive and radical, if not actually revolutionary, it was too aggressive and became too obnoxious to the master class, hence it was to be disrupted and crushed, as has been done. The remnants of the W. F. M., still strong numerically, have just voted to affiliate with the A. F. of L., thus proving a statement made in the May Day edition of the Weekly People of last year, to the effect that "It is only a matter of time before the once revolutionary W. F. of M. will be a part of the great organized scabbary."

Turning his eyes on the political field the superficial observer will find even less to encourage him there than he found on the industrial field. In politics the wage slaves are thoroughly divided, not even following leaders of their own choice and selection but voting for their capitalist masters, the political agents of the capitalist, or for any middle class politician who may declare himself a friend of the workers.

The so-called Socialist party, at one time having the semblance of being a working class organization, has become a mere reform party as has been shown throughout the country. This was also shown at the municipal election in Denver on May 17th when that party distributed a leaflet containing, among other nonsense, a Municipal Program, in which the usual S. P. reform demands were set forth. One clause of this program reads:

"We demand the prompt establishment of a public comfort station for women near the business centre, to be followed by other stations, for men and for women, at suitable points throughout the city; also the erection of a municipal lodging house."

To the intelligent workingman who looks below the surface of things and observes the causes instead of the effects, the Labor Movement in Colorado pre-

sents a different and more encouraging aspect.

The class-conscious Socialist knows that the obvious disorganized and confused condition of the Labor Movement on the industrial field is due to the workmen's failure to understand their class interests, and to a healthy discontent and dissatisfaction with the leadership of the fakirs. Since the workers have not as yet been reached by the literature of the Socialist Labor Party, they are ignorant as to the cause of their misery and the way out of wage slavery, hence they strike blindly and in all directions against what to them appears to be the cause, and in favor of anything that looks like a step forward. The S. L. P. man knows that the principles of industrial unionism, which he advocates, are gaining headway in the craft unions in spite of the fakirs. He knows that the apparent backward step of the Western Federation of Miners is a move of the leaders and fakirs in that organization to preserve their immediate material interests, in the form of a large dues paying membership, and that the rank and file of the miners are more progressive and revolutionary than ever. The very fact that John M. O'Neill, the editor of the Miners' Magazine, and the other misleaders of the Federation, in their endeavors to carry the proposition of affiliation with the A. F. of L., had to appeal to the growing sentiment in the W. F. M. in favor of the industrial form of organization, shows the true situation within the Federation.

On the political field the open-eyed observer finds that the workers, having been deceived again and again, have become disgusted and sceptical. Their present tendency is to start so-called independent labor parties or vote for the master class which holds the key to their bread and butter. The so-called Socialist party is held in no better respect than the other reform movements. The workers have become disgusted with its actions and are deserting it. Even the Miners' Magazine and its Socialist (?) editor have gone back on the S. P., as shown by an editorial in the Magazine of February 10th last, in which the following appears. "Men of observation and experience, looking into the future do not hesitate to predict that the Socialist party as at present constituted is doomed, and from its ruins will rise a 'Labor party,' etc." And again: "The Socialist party is now being torn into fragments, from ocean to ocean, and there is scarcely a state in the Union in which the Socialist party is not split into warring factions," etc.

The most encouraging feature of the whole Labor Movement, industrial and political, is the existence of the Socialist Labor Party and its press, the Daily and Weekly People. The fact that the S. L. P. has withstood all the attacks made upon it and all the corrupting and disintegrating influences which have been and are at work, and has maintained its organization, its press and literature, clear, clean and uncompromising, is in itself a wonderful achievement. But the S. L. P. has accomplished far more than that. It has drilled and educated a body of men so thoroughly and correctly that they can not be misled nor discouraged. Wherever the Daily or Weekly People goes regularly every day or week, a man or woman will be found who is a force and a factor in the Labor Movement. And their influence is felt and will be felt ever more as we grow in numbers and be better able to present the clear and unassailable principles of the Party. The Daily People in the ten years of its existence has indeed been a power for good. The only question before us now is how to reach the masses with the message of our press. We MUST reach them.

As long as the Labor Movement of the United States contains such an organization as the S. L. P. and such a press as the Daily and Weekly People, there is no cause for discouragement. The principles which the party advocates so ably mean the salvation of society.

THE CONDITION OF SOCIETY.

It seems to me that people are not enough aware of the monstrous state of society, absolutely without parallel in the history of the world, with a population poor, miserable and degraded in body and mind, as if they were slaves, and yet called freemen. The hopes entertained by many of the effects to be wrought by new churches and schools, while the social evils of their conditions are left uncorrected, appear to me utterly wild.—Dr. T. Arnold.

PLATFORM

Adopted at the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, July, 1904, and Re-adopted at the National Convention, July, 1908.

The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right; but taught by experience we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive of THEIR life, THEIR liberty, and THEIR happiness.

We hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be controlled by the whole people; but again taught by experience we hold furthermore that the true theory of economics is that the means of production must likewise be owned, operated and controlled by the people in common. Man cannot exercise his right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land on and the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty and his fate fall into the hands of the class that owns those essentials for work and production.

We hold that the existing contradiction between the theory of democratic government and the fact of a despotic economic system—the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the people into two classes: the Capitalist Class and the Working Class; throws society into the convulsions of the Class Struggle; and perverts government to the exclusive benefit of the Capitalist Class.

Thus labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises the banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class.

The time is fast coming when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises, on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations, on the other hand, will have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of America to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them.

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of Working Class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

PROPERTY—PRIVATE AND COMMON

There can be no longer any question as to whether and how private property is to be preserved in the instruments of production; the only question is what shall, or, rather, must, take its place; it is not a question of making an invention, but of dealing with an actual fact. We have as little choice in the matter of the system of property that should be instituted, as we have in the matter of preserving the existing one, or throwing it overboard.

The same economic development that propounds the question: "What shall be put in the place of the system of private ownership in the means of production?" brings along the conditions that answer the question. The new system of property lies latent in the old. To become acquainted with the former we must turn, not to our personal leanings and wishes, but to the facts that surround us.

Whoever understands the conditions that are requisite for the present system of production knows what system of property those conditions will demand when the existing system of property ceases to be possible. Private property in the instruments of production has its roots in small production. Individual production makes individual ownership necessary. Large production, on the contrary, denotes co-operative, social production.

In large production each individual does not work alone, but a large number of workers, the whole commonwealth, work together to produce a whole. Accordingly, the modern instruments of production are extensive and gigantic. With them, it is wholly impossible that every single worker should own his own instruments of production. Once the present stage is reached by large production, it admits of but two systems of ownership.

First, private ownership by the individual in the instruments of production used by co-operative labor; that means the existing system of capitalist production, with its train of misery and exploitation as the portion of the workers, idleness and excessive abundance as the portion of the capitalist; and,

Second, ownership by the workers in common of the instruments of production, and the extinction of the exploitation of the workers, who become masters of their own products, and who themselves appropriate the surplus of which under our system, they are deprived by the capitalist.

To substitute common in the place of private ownership in the means of production, it is this that the economic development is urging upon us with ever-increasing force.

MARX on MALLOCK

or
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[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

CONGRATULATION RECIPROCATED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed herein I am sending you a little stuff which, if you don't think worthy of publication, shove it into the waste-basket.

I regret to say that I have been so busy seeking the elusive (albeit genuine) stuff that glitters, that it has prevented me from doing much for the movement. However, from now on, I am going to try and do better.

Just a word about that letter of mine captioned, "Looking the issue square in the face," which you answered editorially. Aside from its courtesy, the logic of your answer was so irrefutable, that it quite vanquished me. Time has certainly illuminated the lack of homogeneity in the S. P.

I am glad to say, however, that my pessimism regarding the S. L. P., and my erroneous conception of the I. W. W. at that time, did not carry me into the veiled dynamiter's or direct actionist's camp. Am still true to my old flame—the S. L. P.

Congratulations on the anniversary of the Daily People. Yourself and staff are deserving of the highest praise in bringing the paper to its present state of excellence. May the succeeding ten years of its life be as clarifying and as devoted to the principles of International Socialism as the decade it has just passed through. 'Tis a consummation devoutly to be wished" that all of us may live to celebrate its twentieth anniversary and at the same time participate in the ushering in of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Chas. H. Ross.

Eda, Nev., June 19.

WHO CAN TELL?

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In a discussion at the S. P. meeting on Thursday night as to private ownership of the press, the question was asked who owned the "Appeal." A member of the S. P. who assumed to know said that Eugene Debs was a very heavy stockholder. I wish some of the comrades who are in a position to do so would make certain as to the truthfulness of the statement. If it be a fact, we are entitled to know exactly who are the private parties.

Bill B. Cook.

Galveston, Tex., June 22.

SECTION LOUISVILLE ON FIRING LINE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Last night Section Louisville hoisted the S. L. P. flag at Third and Market streets for the Congressional campaign in this city. Those faithful young comrades, Wm. Braun and Rudolph Smith, were on hand with the stand, and with them the old veteran, James O'Hearn. Several sympathizers were there to lend us the encouragement of their presence.

We found the corner occupied by the Starvation Army when we arrived, and they seemed to try how long they could hold it. At last, however, when the nickels, dimes and quarters had ceased to come in satisfactorily, the army of "beggars for the poor" silently fled away.

Most of their audience came to us. Our meeting lasted one and a half hours. We sold 12 booklets. Many questions were asked and answered. Arnold was the speaker; and he made some telling drives at the local Democratic machine and its Mayor Head.

This gentleman, Mayor Head, is the same Democratic "friend of labor" that made his campaign last fall on what he would do for labor, if labor would elect him. Well, labor elected him Mayor, and since the election he has used his uniformed Cossacks, the police force of the city, to break the strike of 3,000 tobacco workers against the American Tobacco Company for a few cents increase of wages. The strikers were mostly women and girls, many hundreds of them being mere children. Yet this loud-mouthed demagogue, W. O. Head, used his police in the most brutal fashion against these striking women and children. We have decided to hold meetings every Saturday night during the summer; and we call upon all the old comrades and friends of the party

here in Louisville to attend the meetings and help us.

Louisville, Ky., June 26.

S. P. DROPS FREE SPEECH MASK AND SLUGS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The Socialist Labor Party of Philadelphia is having an interesting time just at present carrying on its work of educating the working class. Last Saturday night, while holding an open-air meeting at the corner of Front and Dauphin streets, G. G. Anton was struck by the fist of an S. P.-ite who was incited thereto by the remarks of one Chas. Sehl, who was speaking from the S. P. platform nearby. This is their answer to our challenge to debate. This is only one of a long series of S. P. threats of violence and actual bodily assault.

Section Philadelphia, however, will hold its meeting at the corner of Front and Dauphin streets every Saturday night during the summer in spite of the S. P. sluggers and their yelps of "scab" and "disrupter," and we will take adequate measures to protect our speakers from their slum tactics.

Besides the Front and Dauphin streets' meeting, we are holding one at 40th street and Lancaster avenue Saturday nights and at the North Plaza City Hall on Sunday nights. Fair sales of literature and Peoples at all of these meetings reward our efforts.

The members and sympathizers of the Party are again urged to attend these meetings and assist us in distributing leaflets and pamphlets. We need more WORKERS. Come out and help us.

Organizer.

Philadelphia, Pa., June 25.

SEATTLE POLICE ANNOY S. L. P.—ARREST SPEAKERS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—During the second week's work in Seattle, and with the assistance of Comrade O'Hanrahan and others, we managed to secure one sub each to the Arboretum and Arbeiter, three to the Daily and fourteen to the Weekly People.

Six street meetings and one hall meeting were held during the week, with Comrades Walsh, Leaf, O'Hanrahan and Holleran as speakers. All meetings were well attended, and the sale of literature amounted to 885 Daily People and sixty-nine pamphlets including four subs.

Comrades Keith and Miller deserve great credit for the success of our Daily People sales. They are always on hand at the street meetings and are untiring in their efforts to dispose of S. L. P. literature.

Comrade Miller and I were placed under arrest after the street meeting held last Wednesday night, corner Washington and Second avenues. Miller was charged with "fighting," and the charge preferred against me was "disorderly conduct." Miller's case was tried the following day and he was found not guilty and discharged. My case comes up to-morrow (Thursday).

The trouble arose over a degenerate who persisted in interrupting the meeting, and when Miller tried to get him out of the crowd he began calling him, Miller, vile names, and struck him a blow. Then Miller retaliated with good measure. It was clearly a case of self-defense, nothing more. I have been told from good authority that the scamp who had Miller arrested is a police spy, and has been seen on several occasions trying to stir up trouble at our street meetings, so as to give the powers that be a pretext to stop our propaganda. I was imparting this information to Comrade Branch when an overzealous guardian of capitalist interests, a detective, who stood behind us, he having sneaked there, rushed at me like a mad bull and belittled out, "Mind your own business." From his actions one would get the impression that he felt discomfited at the fact that Branch and I knew about the spy.

It took them, two detectives and two policemen, some time to make up their minds whether or not to arrest me, and I suppose they were at the same time deliberating what charge to prefer against me. My arrest followed. What the outcome will be remains to be seen.

All of Section Seattle's street meetings are highly successful from a propaganda and literature sale point of view, and this no doubt has something to do with the actions of shady characters we have to contend with at our street meetings. We are keeping close watch on these gentry, and

James Jameson.

Milwaukee, Wis., June 23.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third, the year.

whenever we find one in the crowd, they are politely but firmly told to "beat it."

We will hammer away for more subs during the coming week and hope to be more successful in this direction.

Chas. Pierson.

Seattle, Wash., June 21.

MILWAUKEE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FINANCES.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The humbuggery of financing has been reduced to a fine art, if the term "fine art" can be applied to a "profession" which practices every species of "law abiding" chicanery and resorts to every known subterfuge to sweat an honest penny.

Of a piece with this sort of fine art are the recent experiences of the Milwaukee S. P.-ites, and as true capitalist appendages have these "one-things-at-a-time-revolutionists" succumbed. They are getting one thing at a time with a vengeance and they will get more of it in time, as your editorial on the 15th inst. correctly indicates.

Shortly after the Milwaukee election, the writer overheard a conversation among some municipal bond brokers and bankers. They were discussing the Milwaukee election, and the consensus of opinion was that they had these "Socialists" on the hip now, and that, if they wanted to carry out any of their municipal schemes they could not raise the money, without coming to them—"the capitalists"—to sell their bonds; and they could then dictate the terms.

While this startled me somewhat, I considered it an idle boast, coming from men trained to look at everything through the financial spectacles of capitalism, measuring this matter by the dollar-mark rule. But it seems they had sized up the Milwaukee brethren better than I considered them capable of doing.

I knew that if the Milwaukee S. P.-ites meant business they could easily sell their bonds by popular subscription, thus not alone securing a free hand in their actions, but selling the bonds at a better advantage—practically on their own terms and as long as they had to pay interest, fixing their own interest rate; and surely such a large contingent of trades union supporters, sick and death benefit societies, not to mention mine owners, publishers, orators and other "Bermuda onion" capitalists, who swarm among their membership, would not allow these bonds to languish unsold when they too could turn an honest penny while ushering in the "Socialist Commonwealth," and surely the city's credit is good! The bonds will never be repudiated! For has not Mr. Berger promised that the "Socialist Commonwealth" (a la Milwaukee) will not "confiscate"—it will "compensate"!—I suppose a sort of S. P. Commonwealth 4½ per cent. 999 Year Redemption Gold Bond will be issued, renewable at the option of the holder, and he who negotiates the sale of these bonds will turn an honest penny.

Then again there were other ways out of the difficulty and so I dismissed the matter from my mind, thinking the S. P.-ites would overcome so slight a trouble. But it seems the wise men of the east end of the state had no such simple ideas, and it must have been a brighter star that was leading them on to the realms of higher finance.

Imagine my surprise a short time later when in rapid succession I saw three announcements in the daily papers;—one to the effect that Milwaukee would be charged 4½ per cent interest on its bonds—a raise of one-half per cent.—I suppose because of the greater risk capital invested in a municipality socialized city would run; and another announcement that Mr. Berger was in New York—can it be that he was negotiating the sale of these bonds? But the surprises are not all in yet, for upon Mr. Berger's return to Milwaukee, a resolution was passed by the Board of Aldermen to pay 4½ per cent. interest on their bonds! Can it be possible that the capitalists are dictating to the "Socialists" the terms under which they will negotiate the bonds? It certainly looks that way; and having gone thus far they will have to yield to the "financial interests" dictation in the matter of placing contracts, appointments, etc., etc., ad infinitum; for such is the rule of capitalist buying and selling and they usually make their terms before they deliver the cash.

And thus the Socialist (?) Commonwealth (?) is ushered in at Milwaukee. Capital exacts greater toll and gets it, and step by step the S. P.-ites are moving backward to the final goal when the powers of capitalism will have conquered them. More anon.

James Jameson.

Milwaukee, Wis., June 23.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third, the year.

James Jameson.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third, the year.

THE MOVEMENT ON THE FRONTIER

CONDITIONS EXISTING IN THE SOUTHWEST, AND THE STURDY SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY BAND THERE.

By Fannie Chernin, El Paso, Texas.

El Paso, Texas, with its 40,000 population, of which 33% is Mexican, is not immune from the capitalistic plague, which is fortified by 35 religious organizations, two—American and Mexican—Salvation Armies, 23 A. F. of L. unions. And, while it may not be inferred that all the members of the S. P. (defunct?) Local are favorable to the plague, we have sad evidence against one of its recruits. An explanation to justify this statement will promptly follow.

As a protest against the medley above referred to, and to counteract the emanating corruption disposed to perpetuate the irreconcilable conflict raging between oppressors and oppressed. Section El Paso, S. L. P., organized last November, and has held its meetings regularly since, slowly but surely adding adherents. The majority of the members are Mexicans, several of which,—be it said to their credit—are "up and doing." Altho' we have and are making repeated efforts to interest the American element here, we find the so-called "inferior" Mexicans most responsive. This is all the more astonishing, considering that most of them cannot read English, and receive their knowledge of the movement by what is verbally imparted to them. And, while it may not be said that they all read Spanish, yet for those who do read their mother tongue, we have no S. L. P. literature to acquaint them with the knowledge necessary to inspire untiring activity.

This serious obstacle is soon to be eliminated by our Spanish paper which we are on the eve of printing; its mission, if successfully accomplished, will imbue the Mexicans with ideals worthy of the loftiest of civilized mankind. Thwarted was our first attempt to put in working order a small cylinder press. However, the constancy of effort is about to succeed, for another little press is being constructed by the Mexicans at the home of one of them, where our meetings are generally held. It is encouraging to see the Mexican comrades engrossed in their labor; it is a labor of love; a love that is broad enough for the whole of humanity. Their sincere endeavor prompts them to work into the small hours of night. Such determined efforts must bear fruit. Equipped with a Spanish paper, we shall be able to reach not only the Mexicans in El Paso, but all those in Texas, and we shall aim to penetrate Arizona and California, Mexico too if possible, thus prepare the Mexicans on the frontier to realize their relationship toward the workmen of all countries. They shall be taught the significance of the Marxian concept, "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" The birth of that little paper is destined to change the mental and moral attitude of the Mexicans on both sides of the frontier.

The A. F. of L. union leaders here, as elsewhere, posing as the friends of labor, are making overtures to organize a Cooks' and Waiters' union, excluding Japs, Chinese and Negroes. Strange to say, they singled out an S. P. man to

organize it. After a personal conversation, the writer of this extracted a promise from the S. P. man not to lower himself to the level of such a task as the polluting A. F. of L. was tempting him with. The labor unions here also passed anti-immigration resolutions, and for this nefarious act they apologized under the cloak of shielding the American workman. Hopeless combat of an effect the cause of which is intentionally permitted to go unscathed!

Last October these same unions summoned twenty of their leaders to figure on the reception committee for the Taft-Diaz episode. They lavished welcome on the chief representatives of the exploiting class; endorsed the handshake and apparent friendship of a rich American, ditto Mexican. The most conspicuous feature on that occasion was the absence of race hatred. Now, however, those self-same men are seeking by anti-immigration resolutions to exclude the poor subjects of the Dictator to whom they gave a royal welcome. Royal welcomes given by labor leaders to members of the exploiting class, change to purple rage against the exploited ones, who, obeying the law of self-preservation, or lured by the powers in search of cheap labor, immigrate in hope, only to meet with despair and contempt. Poor Mexicans and poor Americans! How long will they permit the enemy to cultivate the despicable feature of race hatred among themselves? Whose the power but theirs to rout the A. F. of L.? which, in its holy recognition of geographical boundaries, does violence to the cause of labor which it pretends to befriend.

As to the Socialist party here, a better example can hardly be given than that which came under our personal observation of the effect of its broad, tolerant tactics of "reaching" the people. One of their local members attended our discussion meeting. Upon being informed that Socialism aims for the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class and establishment of the Socialist Republic, he denied the existence of classes. Furthermore, he doubted the possibility of Socialism, and as a grand finale, he confided to us that he was being paid to speak for the politicians here. "Why not?" he asked. "Am I not being paid for my political chicanery, and after all, is not Bryan a Socialist?" Laughable, were it not so sad. To read of this infamy may be revolting, but to come in personal contact with the offender is worse. The fellow actually holds a membership card in the S. P. Local, but that Local has only had about one meeting, and that was when it organized.

Now, then, to cleanse this region of such pollution of unworthy impositions inflicted on the working class, is the arduous task before us. Section El Paso is endeavoring to be equal to the noble work of guiding the proletariat into the straight path leading to final redemption. The outlook is promising, and when oppressors and traitors take cognizance, may the movement on the frontier not merely be a mirage on the desert.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

H. D. B., NEW YORK.—The reason why the British House of Lords accepted the income tax budget, and rejected the land value tax budget is that the British House of Lords is still essentially a feudal affair, and that, as such a land value tax is historically distasteful.

A. R., SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.—The reason why the Swan Sonnenschein & Co. edition of "Capital" is the one always referred to by The People, is that that is the edition in this office, and the paging in other editions, which may otherwise be correct enough, may not tally with that of S. S. & Co. Furthermore the S. S. & Co. edition is known to be reliable. To ascertain whether other editions have, or have not "amended Marx," a la Spargo, would require a careful and systematic comparison for which we have no time.

E. F., PROVIDENCE, R. I.—We decline to have anything to do with a person who is either so ignorant that he can not, or so selfishly interested that he will not realize that the Roman Catholic hierarchy is a political machine, and who insists upon discussing the thing as a sacred affair. With a person who realizes that the hierarchy is a political machine we are perfectly willing to discuss. However much such a person is in error in admiring such a political machine we would treat him the same as we would a convinced Republican, Democrat or any other class-rule partymen.

F. D., FLORENCE, CALIF.—Preston was nominated for President by the Socialist Labor Party. He was nominated because the S. L. P. holds him not guilty. The S. L. P. holds him not guilty because to slay a man who assaults you with a deadly weapon when you are in the legitimate exercise of your civic rights is an act of self defense.

A. Z., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—The article appeared in the Daily People of Tuesday, June 21.

W. J. B., NEW YORK.—The first letter is lost. As to the second we fear it would re-open a question that we try to avoid as still too vague for definite treatment.

THE CHANGE TO SOCIALISM.

Scientific Socialism is no ready made suit of clothes that might be put on tomorrow. Nor does it expect to overthrow the competitive system on a Monday and have the millennium in full bloom by Sunday. It is essentially a principle of action, of reorganization. And the manner in which it can be realized must necessarily depend on the conditions existing when public opinion is sufficiently advanced to make its application possible. Socialism is in economics what democracy is in politics: the assertion of the equal right of the people in the management of

I. D. F., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.—So long as the Union is "closed," the inevitable consequence is that the mass of Labor, in whose faces the Union doors are closed, will keep the shop "open." The Open Shop is a direct product of Civic Federationized A. F. of Helliam.

A. W., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—So far as Socialist party literature allows an insight into Socialist party membership the Socialism of these gentlemen and ladies is what Herve would call "just so much etiquette."

D. J. D., DENVER, COLO.—The land of England and Wales is owned by 973,011 persons. These were the figures for 1883.

S. S., NEW YORK.—No such book of songs is known in this office.

E. E. S., NEW ORLEANS, LA.—Let the beast Revenge die of starvation—feed it not. The S. L. P. has loftier work to do.

D. B. J., FITCHBURG, MASS.—Parallels between Europe and America must be cautiously handled. Capitalism is not the sole factor that determines the time for the rise and the size of a Socialist Movement.

A. G., EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.—The accounts of Vincent St. John's agent Fred Heslewood were O. K'd by St. John; what is now wanted is to have Heslewood O. K. St. John.

M. A., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Do not write on both sides of the sheet when sending matter for publication. Others kindly take notice.

A. S. D., DES MOINES, IA.; J. M., ANN ARBOR, MICH.; F. B., PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y.; C. C. C., PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y.; L. M. G., HAMILTON, ONT.; R. K., CLEVELAND, O.; H. J. S., LOS ANGELES, CALIF.; G. S., TACOMA, WASH.; E. J. H., PHILA., PA.; H. B. S., HAMILTON, ONT.; R. M., SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA; J. O. J., SHARON, PA.; J. A. B., DICKSON CITY, PA.; S. B., NEW YORK, N. Y.—Matter received.

affairs. It is, therefore, a principle that should appeal to workingmen with peculiar force. A plutocracy in a republic is a monstrosity. Industrial democracy is the logical complement of political democracy. No change in human nature was required to establish the one. It came as a development of political ideals. So with the other. Through the progress of social ideals, it may be well under way long before we become conscious of the wings.

Until the workers know Socialism they are the hopeless victims of Capitalism. Spread the light!

Woman Under Socialism

By August Bebel

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN OF THE THIRTY-THIRD EDITION BY DANIEL DE LEON.

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